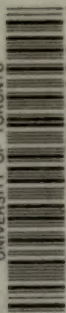
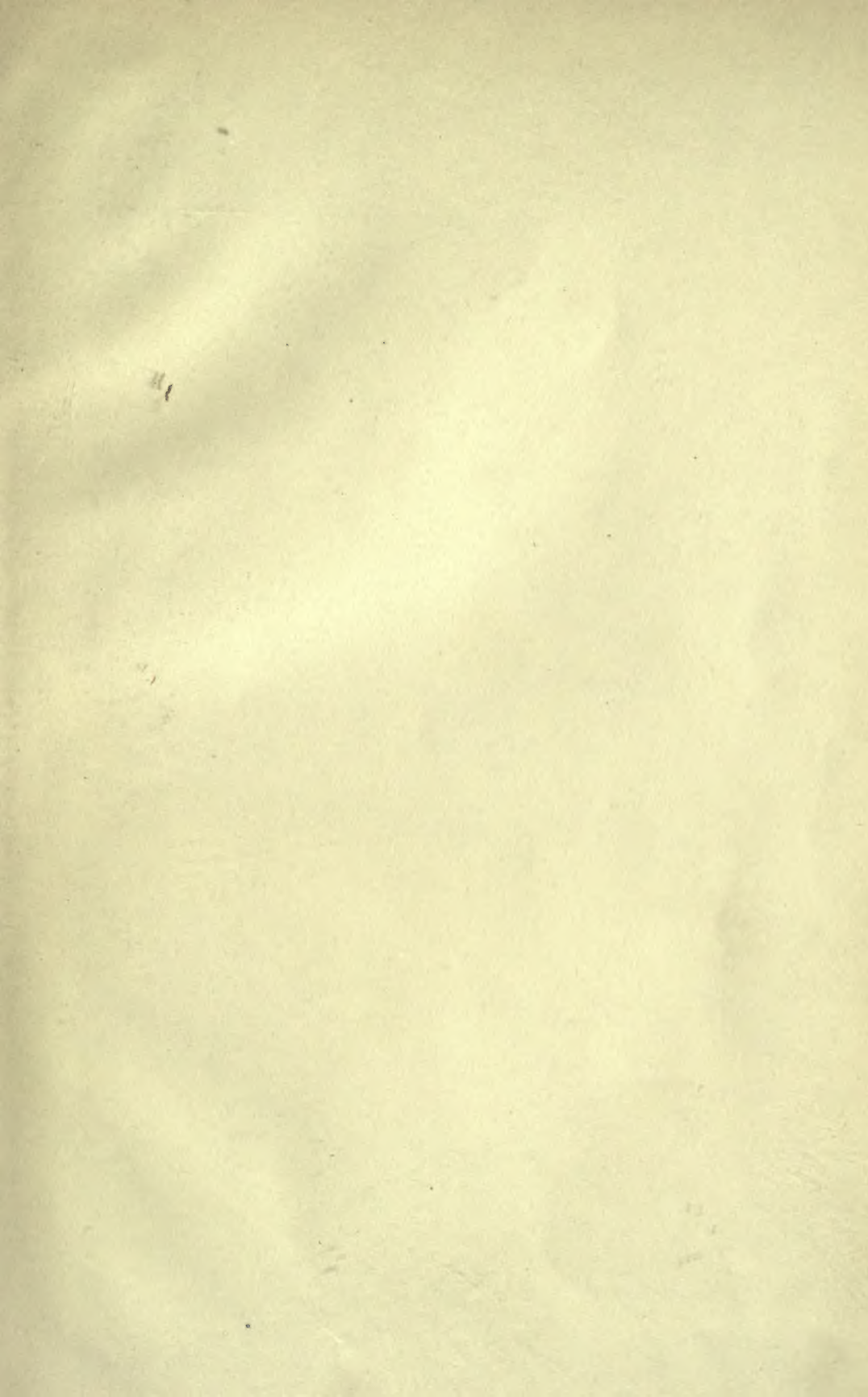



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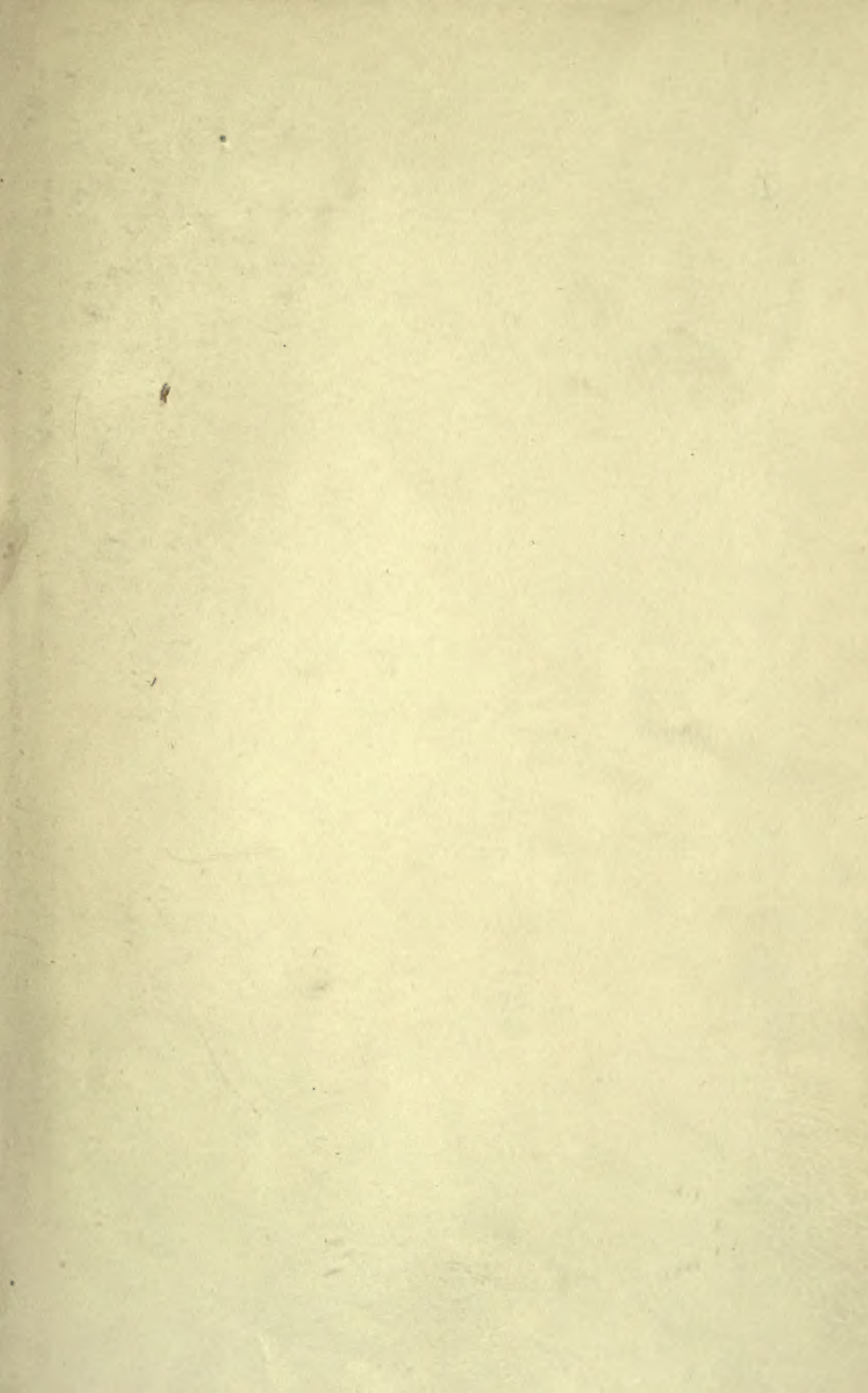
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IMPERIAL ROME

BY

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"GREECE UNDER ROMAN RULE," "HELLAS AND ROME," "THE BYZANTINES
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VOLUME V

OF

A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS

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BOOK I.

ROME: FROM THE FOUNDING OF
THE EMPIRE TO THE DEATH
OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

(B.C. 31-A.D. 211.)



PLATE I.



Statue of the Emperor Augustus. From the ruins of the Villa of Livia, at Prima porta, near Rome. Vatican. (From a photograph.)

PART I.

THE JULIAN EMPERORS.

(B.C. 31—A.D. 68.)

CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPATE OF AUGUSTUS.

(B.C. 31—A.D. 14.)

WHEN Octavian (PLATE I.) closed the temple of Janus in August, B.C. 29, he stood before a heap of ruins. The world, from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, was exhausted, and the old Roman constitution had received its final blow. The one universal wish was for the permanence of peace.

Octavian did not shrink from the task before him. During the forty-four years allotted him, he exercised his power wisely and on the whole benevolently. If he did not possess the genius of his adoptive father, he must, nevertheless, be counted among the great rulers; and he did succeed in drawing the lines within which the Roman world was confined for three centuries. For the central government and the ruling Roman-Italian people there was built up a new constitution, which prepared the way for the real monarchy and the creation of a new order of civil officers; for the boundaries of the empire, the troops were reformed, and the first vast system for a standing army established; while the peoples of the empire, by the establishment of civic governments, were drawn into the Roman civilization, and gradually moulded into one community, with common institutions and interests, surrounded by a semi-circle of 'barbarian' peoples which had become partially Romanized.

His first great task was to secure the permanence of peace. This he brought about in part by acute diplomacy, in part by a complete change in the military system. Only the effort to establish a new and permanent northern boundary for the realm led to great wars, and to

an expansion of the original plan of the constitution of the army. As a fact, the period of peace and prosperity under the empire has never been equalled in duration, and many parts of what was once the Roman empire have never again known such prosperity. This is the most splendid achievement of Octavian.

The reconstruction of the constitution was far less successful, a result due to a century and a half of decay, a century of revolution, to the deterioration of the senate, and the limitations to Octavian's power. In his endeavor to reconstitute Roman society, Octavian was everywhere careful not to break with the past, and sought to cause the new to appear as the immediate outgrowth of the old. He had no thought of simply taking up the work of Julius where it was interrupted. He knew too well the influence which, in spite of the exhaustion and the breaking up of parties, the names and the traditions of five hundred years still exercised over the Romans. It seemed impracticable to attempt to set up an open monarchy, and the task of ruling the empire alone was far beyond his strength. He therefore had recourse to governing by the aid of subordinate officials, and by a division of power. The degeneracy of the comitia, and the disintegration of the democratic elements in Rome, made him regard only the aristocracy of birth and property represented by the senate. After all that had happened since Caesar passed the Rubicon, it must be considered as a great act of reconciliation that the victor of Actium did not disdain the name and the forms of the old republic, and that externally nothing was changed in Rome save that to the former officials of the state a new one was added, the most powerful indeed of all, who took into his own hand alone the conduct of the imperial policy and the command of the military forces of the realm, but left to the old ruling elements the old offices and the government of a very considerable part of the provinces. The new supremacy the earlier Caesars preferred to call the 'Principate.'

From January 1, B.C. 31, Octavian held continuously the consulship, to which he restored the great powers which it had had in the early constitution, at the same time retaining his authority as triumvir and the command of the army. In B.C. 29 he was made censor; and, for the first time since B.C. 70, a complete census of all Roman citizens was taken. The number of men capable of bearing arms was found to be 4,063,000, corresponding to a population of from sixteen to seventeen millions. The senate, the body to which Octavian had assigned so important a part for the future, was purified; the membership dur-

ing the Civil Wars had risen to about a thousand, and included many persons of bad reputation and of low station in life. These, with the stubborn republicans, were dismissed, the number of senators was reduced to 600, and a high property qualification was made a requisite for admission to the senate. Agrippa, his colleague in the office of consul, to whom Octavian married Marcella, the daughter of his sister Octavia by her first marriage with C. Claudius Marcellus, now, according to the old practice, named his colleague 'princeps senatus;' and Octavian thus received the important right of first expressing his decisive opinion in the deliberations of the senate.

He thereupon, in B.C. 27, appeared in the curia, and in due form gave back to the senate and the people his extraordinary civil authority; declared himself content with the consulship and the tribunician powers, which he kept only to be able to defend the people, and expressed his intention of handing over to the senate, after the completion of his work, the military *imperium* and the provinces. In this his purpose was to secure for himself a legitimate position in the state as a new and regular, although supreme, state officer, and to remove from his position the character of usurpation; and in this he succeeded completely. He was urged in the interests of the country not to withdraw from the burden laid upon him, and he consented to resume his position, at first only for ten years. Yet he retained under his immediate control only a part of the provinces, those which from the neighborhood of restless foreign tribes, or from internal difficulties, required a strong garrison, while the others were to be administered by the governors of the senate.¹

Octavian's authority was thus legalized by vote of the senate and the people, and after ten years no one thought of his resignation; but his prudence in introducing the new relations was imitated by his successors. Although they received the principate for life, they celebrated every ten years the festival of the 'Decennalia,' in renewal of their authority. In gratitude the senate conferred upon Octavian, on January 16, B.C. 27, the surname of 'Augustus' (exalted), by which since that time he is known in history. This title of honor, which implied something

¹ Octavian retained Gaul with the two Germanies, Hither Spain, and Syria, to which Cyprus and Cilicia were united, while Egypt was held as his private possession. All the remaining provinces passed, in the course of two years, to the senate. In time many exchanges of provinces were made between the senate and the emperor. The number of imperial provinces became much greater, because some, like Gaul, were divided into several parts, and because the districts conquered after B.C. 27 were all placed under the emperor.

sacred, without increasing his authority, raised the imperator far above his fellow citizens.¹ Augustus, and after him Tiberius, preferred to describe his position by the title of 'Princeps.' It was in no way identical with the dignity of *princeps senatus*, but was intended to designate him as the first, the most distinguished, and the most important among all the burgesses of Rome.

His authority as 'imperator' (a designation used by him, as by his successors, as a praenomen) made Augustus commander-in-chief of all the soldiers of the state; all other commanders were his legates. The imperator (emperor) was proconsul for all provinces of higher military importance. All other proconsuls had command only of troops that belonged to the emperor, and were lent to them by him. Troops, wherever they might be, took the oath of fidelity and obedience to the emperor; and he alone had the right to make levies and to determine the stations of the army, to discharge soldiers, to appoint and promote officers, and to confer decorations. He could use all the powers of government in the kingdoms and countries incorporated in the Roman state or taken under its administration, but Rome and Italy were not subject to the military authority of the emperor. Here Augustus was restricted to the consulship and the tribunician rights; that is, personal inviolability and the right of intercession.

He gradually became convinced that the continuous occupation of the consulship was impracticable. In B.C. 23, while holding his eleventh consulship, Augustus fell so sick that his speedy death was expected, and he barely escaped with his life. On his recovery he laid down the consulship, declaring that he would not hold it again, and proposed a different arrangement of his civic authority. On June 27, B.C. 23, the princeps received the tribunician power for life, as a yearly office; so that the calendar years of his office were reckoned from that point, as were those also of the successive emperors. The emperor was not indeed a tribune; the ordinary tribunes were not his colleagues; but he exercised the tribune's authority. He thus associated with himself the most active element of the old republic, the strongest weapon

¹ This new honor was not personally bequeathed by Augustus or the later rulers of Rome; but was conferred by the senate at every accession to the imperial office, and became definitely an official designation. The name of 'Caesar' for a time remained merely the family name of the princes of the Julian house. After their extinction the name passed over to their successors, and, until the death of Hadrian, was applied both to the founders of the successive dynasties and to all the male members of the ruling house. After the death of Hadrian, in 138 A.D., the title of Caesar was assumed only by the princes whom the emperors had named as their successors, or chosen to be their colleagues in the government.

of the democracy in its struggle with the oligarchy, the magistracy, which in the last century of the republic had acquired almost limitless authority. It brought an almost unrestricted veto power over all other magistracies, and, increased by the life-tenure and extension over the entire realm, an equal ability to defend the oppressed. To the double position of imperator and holder of the tribunician authority was added the general oversight of the senatorial provinces, in which Augustus exercised a superior authority, 'a similar but stronger imperium' than that of the resident governors of the senate.

The constitutional rights which Augustus sought were now attained; other positions he steadfastly declined. Twice in succession, in B.C. 19 and in 18, by a resolution of the senate and a law of the people, he was offered the dictatorship *cura legum et morum*, and refused it. Twice only, in B.C. 8 and A.D. 13-14, when he wished to take a general census, Augustus allowed the office of consul, with its earlier censorial functions, to be conferred upon him. But he took care that his *imperium* should be prolonged, in B.C. 18 and 13, for five years; and in B.C. 8 and A.D. 3 and 13 for ten years, respectively. But his system soon met with difficulties, which gradually gave the principate a different character from that which Augustus intended, and forced the emperor to take part in administration. In B.C. 22 Italy was afflicted by plague and famine, and Rome suffered from a disastrous inundation. The people, who had learned to turn for every improvement in their condition to the emperor, forced the senate to appoint Augustus perpetual dictator. Augustus declined this office, as well as the censorship for life, with great decision; but could not avoid taking upon himself, as *curator annonae*, the general oversight of supplying the markets, and thus had to take a personal part in the administration of the city. The measures taken to supply the city were extremely satisfactory; for the emperor had unlimited control of the supplies of corn from Egypt, the richest grain-producing country of the world. The permanent office of director of supplies Augustus filled for the time annually from the ex-praetors; but between B.C. 8 and A.D. 14 he placed at the head of this office a 'prefect of the markets,' who represented the emperor, and was chosen by him from the order of knights, and was removable at pleasure. The position became one of the most honorable in the new system of offices that developed under Augustus.

The contrast between the mismanagement of the aristocratic officials and the efficiency of the emperor's agents led naturally to the extension of his administration to other departments. At the formal request of

the senate, confirmed by the comitia, he undertook, in B.C. 20, the care of the great Italian roads; and nine years later, in B.C. 11, that of the Roman aqueducts. For these important tasks he created new offices, which were filled by him at his pleasure, and for which he at first made use of senators of high rank. He took into his hands the direction of all matters relating to the buildings of the city, which led to the creation of more offices. Finally he was obliged to take charge of fires, which were frequent and dangerous, and to create a great fire-department for Rome. In A.D. 6 he formed out of freedmen a corps of *vigiles*, which had the two-fold duty of serving as firemen, and as police against robbers and thieves. In B.C. 8 Augustus had divided the city into fourteen regions, each of which included a number of streets. In every two of these regions he placed a station of his police, seven in number. The regulations of this body were wholly military; it was a part of the standing army. The corps consisted of seven cohorts, each containing 1000 or 1200 men under a tribune; and at its head was a prefect, who was always taken from the equestrian order, and who soon became a very important official. A service of six years in the *vigiles* (afterward shortened to three) conferred upon its members the Roman citizenship.

As regards legislation, the princeps, like all other high officials, had the right to issue edicts, that is, by public announcement to communicate to the citizens commands or admonitions. The emperor also issued 'constitutions,' or decisions, which were made valid as law by a clause in the law which conferred the tribunician power, and 'acta,' directions to civil magistrates, which as a rule applied to particular cases, and were registered in the imperial 'commentaries' or 'protocols.' Besides, he sent letters of instruction to the officials. The constitutions were declaratory statements and authoritative interpretations of existing laws. If a new law was needed, Augustus had recourse to the usual constitutional methods through the comitia, whose legislative authority still continued; though in some matters the princeps received the right of issuing, in the name of the people, 'personal constitutions,' and thus partially exercised the legislative function. As a part of his authority over the possessions of the people, and in the decision of war, peace, and alliances, the emperor alone could found new colonies, and determine their legal position. He alone changed subject communities into 'Latin' communities, and colonies into municipalities, and *vice versa*. As imperator he had the right to confer Roman citizenship upon those who had served under him in the army. The principate

seems to have obtained early the general right of bestowing citizenship, with its various modifications, and of placing freedmen upon an equality with the free-born. But the senate, till the time of Domitian, in law and in fact kept the function of relieving individuals from existing law, of proposing exceptional measures, and of making exceptional laws, which, however, were regularly made at the desire of the emperor. Personally the princeps, as an official of the republic, was bound by the laws of the state as much as any other Roman citizen. So long as the right of dispensing with the law lay solely with the senate, it was to this high court the emperors came when they needed to be released from legal restrictions.

Augustus was probably chosen at the first opportunity into all the priesthoods that were open to him, and in these positions he was regularly followed by his successors. When Lepidus, who had long been pontifex maximus, died, in B.C. 12, Augustus had this important position conferred upon himself by the comitia of the tribes; and after him all the Roman emperors, even the Christian, to the time of Gratian, held the highest priesthood in Rome. The emperor thus had the oversight of the entire religious system, and the right of nominating the priests in the colleges, and also the vestals; and thus the principate acquired a peculiar sacred character. While Julius Caesar, as dictator, had put his statue among those of the gods, and afterward, in B.C. 42, the triumvirs, by vote of the senate and people, had caused him to be placed among the Roman deities, as 'Divus Julius,' and, in B.C. 29, a temple was consecrated to him, Augustus contented himself with passing as the son of a 'god,' a kind of religious consecration marked by his name and his position as pontifex. While he lived he did not allow divine honors to be paid him, though he permitted many communities to dedicate temples to him.

It is clear that this new and extraordinary magistracy, whose functions were not hereditary, but were conferred upon the new princeps by the constitutional authorities of the state, cannot be called a monarchy. None the less the princeps, in fact, had absolute power, only thinly veiled. The most varied powers lay in the hand of a single official, unrestricted, as of old, by colleagues and the tenure for a single year, who, by merely using his legal functions, could stop all the machinery of the state. Prudent and benignant emperors, as a rule, used these powers moderately; but when they came into the hands of a bad or despotic man, there was nothing in the state that could oppose him.

The senate seemed to retain its high importance. Its exterior dignity was scarcely diminished; it had still, constitutionally, the decisive word in the internal affairs of the state. The emperor himself was regarded as legitimate only when he was recognized by the senate, which likewise conferred upon him his civil functions. In connection with the comitia, it still possessed its legislative function. And though the emperor alone determined upon war, peace, and alliances, it remained the custom for embassies in quest of peace to be referred to the senate, and the conditions of peace were officially communicated to it. The change of a dependent state into a province passed through the senate. It had the right, after successful campaigns, to decree the triumph of the victors; it had the immediate government of a considerable part of the realm, and with it the administration of the *aerarium*, the state treasury. In the coinage, while (after B.C. 15) the emperor had the exclusive coinage of gold and silver (Fig. 1), the senate had that



FIG. 1. — Augustus. Portrait on a silver coin. (Berlin.)

of copper. Finally Augustus gave to the senate an extensive criminal jurisdiction. Complaints could be entered for any crime, both before the emperor and before the consul and senate; and the consul, in rendering judgment, was bound by the finding of the senate. The choice between the ordinary procedure of the standing jury courts and the extraordinary senatorial court lay partly with the complainant, partly with the court itself. In the nature of things, political crimes, especially those of officials, were brought by preference before the senatorial court; and the senate as a court of justice could correct and supplement the existing laws.

None the less, the chief power lay in the hand of the princeps. The senatorial body was at times naturally unable to maintain its position with dignity, and therefore the relation between the senate and the princeps depended entirely upon the character of the reigning emperor. The good emperors sought to keep on good terms with the senate, and hesitated to overstep the boundaries which separated their powers, although in matters of administration and justice the temptation was constant to extend the functions of the emperor at the expense of the senate.

The powers of the princeps were so vast that it needed a wise and cool-headed statesman like Augustus, or high-minded and large-hearted men, to prevent the system from becoming a tyranny. The emperor easily stood above the other officers of the state, and still more

above the new officials who were appointed by him, and who were taken usually from the knights. Augustus had, to be sure, given back to the people the right to choose the officials of the republic in the comitia as of old, but had reserved the privilege of examining the qualifications of the candidates, and of recommending candidates to the electors. The emperor, till the disappearance of the jury system in civil and criminal processes, took upon himself the task of revising and filling up the lists of jurymen for civil and criminal cases; and the jurymen served for life. Their number was raised to 5000, of whom three-fourths had to have the property-rating of the knights, and the other fourth one-half that rating. There arose by the side of the ordinary courts and the senatorial jurisdiction, a new, supreme, imperial procedure, similar to that of the senate. Any person could be brought for any crime before the 'imperial court,' which was conducted by the emperor in person, with his advisers. The forms and rules of the ordinary courts prevailed here; though the princeps could execute the laws at his own judgment, and mitigate or sharpen their penalties. But limited use was made of this dangerous right; political and personal, or legal, considerations determined whether a process should be carried before the senate, the emperor, or the common courts. But complaints against officers, and offences of persons appointed by the emperor and engaged in the administration, naturally came before the emperor. The emperor's authority could be delegated. The governors of the provinces were allowed at first to punish only those who were not citizens, and Roman citizens in cases that did not involve life. As it became impracticable to send to Rome citizens accused of capital crimes, the emperor delegated to the governors his right to take cognizance of capital cases, so that only senators, higher officers, and the decemvirs of the municipia were sent to Rome for trial. To every Roman citizen an appeal, however, was allowed to the courts of the capital and to the emperor; and even others could appeal to the personal decision of the emperor. Appeals from the decisions of the magistrates of the capital were made to the city praetor: appeals from the provinces were referred to commissioners, one for each province, taken from the ex-consuls; and from all these a final appeal always lay to the emperor.

The emperor could also influence the composition of the senate. Entrance to the senate was regularly obtained by holding the offices of the quaestor, tribune, aedile, praetor, and consul; but the emperors could recommend individual candidates, and, as long as they chose to continue the censorship, retained the old right of expelling senators.

Augustus established the senatorial census at 1,200,000 sesterces (about \$62,000); and when senators, through the loss of property, were legally obliged to leave the senate, the emperor could dispense with the requirement by an act of grace.

The wide-spread power of the principate, which restricted the civic freedom of the subject to municipal affairs, soon brought to view the disadvantages which must follow when everything depends upon the personal character of a single person; when claims were made upon the emperor which one man, however great his energy and talent, could not meet alone. It was inevitable that a new order of officials should come into being. At first there were no ministers for the vast realm, with its 1,500,000 square miles and more than 90,000,000 inhabitants, nor did ministers in the modern sense appear till the organization of Diocletian. But Augustus formed a 'consilium,' — a political council, — which assisted the emperor chiefly in his judicial functions, and was composed of persons near the princeps, who, preferably being acquainted with the law, seemed fit to be appointed. It was afterward better organized. Augustus established a committee of a part of the magistrates in office, and of fifteen senators chosen every six months by lot, with which he deliberated upon matters to be discussed in the senate. Tiberius had a permanent advisory council, in which to personal intimates he joined twenty prominent men, senators and knights. Under the later emperors the councils seem to have been formed according to the will of the individual rulers. We find constantly also the influence of individual confidants, who were not 'favorites,' though of course such were not lacking, nor yet 'ministers,' nor state officials. Such were, in the time of Augustus, C. Cilnius Maecenas, who was born B.C. 69, and died B.C. 8, and Agrippa, who everywhere meets us. While Agrippa was invaluable for his inexhaustible activity, versatility, and ambitious energy, Maecenas was of great service to the emperor with his sound judgment and his temperate and frank advice.

'Assistants' of the emperor, appointed by him at will, had no definite tenure; in practice, however, they commonly held office much longer than the regular magistrates. For men of senatorial rank were reserved the places of legates, or legionary commands, of governors of the imperial provinces, and the higher administrative positions in Rome and Italy, especially, at a later time, the command of the police. All these offices, except perhaps the high military commissioners, were unpaid. Romans of free birth, integrity, and 'equestrian census,' had open to them all the military positions up to the rank of tribune; most

of the administrative posts, in particular the collectorships of the imperial revenues in the provinces (procurators); and the conduct of the government of Egypt. These officials received their pay from the emperor's privy purse, and their rank was determined by their salary. For the offices of the household and the court, the emperor's 'own' people, especially freedmen, were employed.

Several of these offices, which had a wide range of business, gradually prepared the way for the great ministers of the times of Diocletian and Constantine. Such were the head of the imperial treasury and the heads of the imperial secretaryship or 'office for despatches and letters' (*ab epistulis*), divided into a Latin and a Greek section, and of the 'office for petitions and complaints' (*a libellis*). These positions after the first century of the Christian era were held by knights. The management of the office *ab epistulis* demanded a high degree of literary training; and the position was held by many men of literary reputation.

It was the fundamental purpose of Augustus and the better emperors, that the public burdens, the payment of the army and the navy, expenditures for war purposes, costs of the administration of the imperial provinces and of the city, so far as undertaken by the emperor, the personal expenditures of the princeps, and those for the court, or the imperial household, should be met out of the means which were known as the 'privy purse' of the emperor. The imperial chest, the *fiscus*, was regarded in law as the private property of the princeps, and was owned and bequeathed in the same way as his private patrimony. It was only toward the end of the second century, in the time of Pertinax, that it became legally established that the *fiscus* belonged to the emperor only as the representative of the state. The receipts of the *fiscus* came from the income of the crown lands, and from duties, taxes, and revenues of the state, directly administered by the emperor, especially in Egypt; from the tributary states, from the imperial provinces, and probably from a part of the income of the senatorial provinces. On the occasion of a severe war in Pannonia and Dalmatia, in A.D. 6, Augustus established the military *aerarium*, to provide for the veterans annually discharged from the army, by imposing new taxes, especially one on inheritances and one on auctions.

The emperor did not have the right of levying taxes upon Roman citizens, although he could employ at his own judgment taxes imposed by law; but over the provincials his power was unrestricted. The regulation of taxes and their collection, together with the management

of the finances, passed to him. In the provinces the imperial *procuratores*, or collectors, superintended the levying of the tax on land and property; which was paid partly in money and partly in kind, particularly grain. The system of farming the revenue was gradually done away with. The revenue farmers retained only the taxes, newly leased every five years, upon the emancipation of slaves, and upon auctions, and, further, the general customs, and a part of the receipts from the domain; and these only under strict imperial control. The general condition of the realm depended upon the emperor's intelligence and humanity.

In the matter of the coinage, since Caesar's dictatorship the gold standard had prevailed. Gold was used entirely in wholesale trade, and gradually depressed silver to the second place, without, however, depriving it of its quality as a precious metal. Gold and silver thus circulated together. Under Augustus the weight of the aureus sank to 119.70 grains, so that gold and silver stood to one another in the relation of 12.5 to 1. The aureus, equal to 25 denarii or 100 sesterces, was to be minted at its full fineness, and in fact remained for a long time with but the slightest alloy. The chief silver piece, the denarius, down to the time of Nero was minted at the same weight and fineness as under the old republic. The money value of the aureus, at the reckoning of the present, was about \$5.25, that of the denarius about 21 cents, and that of the sesterce about 5½ cents.

Parallel with these great works went the unceasing attempt of Augustus to restore the Roman-Italian society, that for several generations had sunk so low through its moral decay, through the bad administration of the oligarchy, and finally through the civil wars. This restoration appeared the more necessary as the people of Italy must still in a certain sense remain the ruling centre of the peoples of the realm, since the emperor could not as yet entertain the thought of amalgamating all at once the variegated populations between the Atlantic Ocean and the Parthian boundary into a body having equal law. As it was, Augustus met great difficulties, some of which were insurmountable, while others were only partially obviated by the operation of law. The result of the long struggle with the oligarchy, and of the anarchy of the civil wars, was an almost irremediable moral and political decay. What could be done with external measures, Augustus actually did, and that without displaying excessive consideration for the mixed and diversified population of the capital, which to the time of Constantine the Great made strong claims for attention on the ground of its descent from the Roman con-

querors of the world. Yet here Augustus's work was sharp and decided. One of the worst inheritances of the immediate past was the utter decay of public safety in Rome and its neighborhood; and in the great capital of the world, which by probable calculation contained a population, including numerous slaves, of over 1,250,000 people, safety could be effectively restored only by the most careful police supervision. It was also a task of exceeding difficulty to reach finally and effectually the wretched conditions and structure of dwellings in the great city. No effort could stem the migration of the proletariat from all Italy to Rome, and it was necessary to provide support for the poverty that here appeared more markedly than in any other of the great cities of the Old World. In the decay of agriculture in the Italian peninsula the provisioning of the capital, which depended principally upon the transmarine corn provinces of the realm, was one of the chief tasks of the emperors, and but seldom did a princeps after Augustus neglect to secure for himself the favor of the people by zealous and intelligent care in this direction. Another evil inheritance of the times of the last hundred years of party struggles, the supply of great masses of the people with free corn, Augustus (Fig. 2), after the example of Caesar, attempted to change more and more into a support of the poor, and gradually to limit (till 2 B. C.) the number of those in the city who received corn to 200,000; and on the other side, also after Caesar's example, to relieve the city by transporting large numbers of the proletariat to new colonies.



FIG. 2. — Augustus. Portrait on a gold coin. (Berlin.)

In many of these attempts to accustom the pampered masses of the capital to discipline and internal order, Augustus was hindered by the policy that looked toward the steady strengthening of his position. Apart from the fact that he could not always limit the free corn to the poorest circles, and that repeatedly along with extensions of his power he craftily satisfied the whole populace with magnificent gifts of money, he could not avoid taking comprehensive measures at his own expense for the continual amusement of the people. The imperial capital long formed its judgment of the worth of the emperors by the way in which they provided for the favorite amusements of the people—and that not simply of the vulgar part. The Roman people of this age compressed its highest wishes into the words *panem et circenses*. Bread and games were gradually regarded as the right of the people, and the best wearers of the purple vied with the worst in the splendor and magnificence of their games. Augustus him-

self in many ways surpassed his predecessors in the frequency, variety, newness, and splendor of his exhibitions,—contests of gladiators and athletes, races in the circus with all their accompaniment of wild beast hunts, and mimic naval battles,—giving them partly in his own name and that of his grandson and partly for other magistrates, who were not in a financial condition to meet their obligations. It was only natural that under such circumstances during the empire this very vicious and demoralizing tendency of Roman civilization steadily strengthened and became one of the most important elements in the formation of the moral condition of the Romans, and also of the most important cities throughout the empire. The games of the circus, which were little by little associated with the new division into parties according to the colors of the chariots and charioteers in the race course, survived all the storms of national migrations and even the vast moral change brought about by Christianity in ancient society. These games, like those of the amphitheatre and the gladiatorial arena with all that belonged to them, afforded to the fondness for display, the love of enjoyment, the perfected technique, and the decorative art of the ancients, a rich and boundless field for activity. In the political decay of the comitia they took the place with the masses of the city of the old public life in the most agreeable way, and, beginning with Augustus, the emperors, who seldom failed in attendance on the circus, here showed the greatest regard and indulgence toward the often very unreserved expressions of the moods, wishes, requests, and complaints of the Roman ‘people.’ Only in the circus did the later emperors hear the voice of the people. Unfortunately the Romans took up the detestable practice of causing criminals to be thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre for the pleasure of the masses. The terrible custom arose of giving to such executions the character of theatrical scenes, and, with splendid decorative displays, of representing in connection with criminals of every kind every curious mode of death of mythical and historical personages.

The custom of revelling unceasingly in such delights naturally worked to the deep demoralization of that part of the ancient world most open to such influences. The old religion, whose moral force was becoming steadily less, could scarcely come into consideration as a helping element, while faith in the gods was at that time at a lower ebb than before or afterward. Men looked upon the old worship as a mere political institution, and observed its rites mechanically. Among some of the upper classes its place had been taken by the various systems of philosophy, while among the masses several mystic Oriental cults held sway. In a time when the cultured classes looked upon religion only as a political

institution, and the masses were concerned principally in its ritual and ceremony, of what avail could it be that Augustus strove with all earnestness to care for the external side of the Roman religion, that he built many new temples, restored old and fallen ones, reorganized the service of the Lares and Penates, and revived throughout the splendor of the priestly colleges? What availed it against the moral corruption that grew unceasingly, that with the support of his friends among the writers and poets he strove in every way to reanimate the Romans to the pursuit of the ancient piety, simplicity, and purity of manners? Under such circumstances even the legislation had but incomplete effect, by which in various ways Augustus sought to check the moral degeneracy of Roman civic society, so disastrous to the state. While gradually Upper Italy and several of the newer provinces, as Spain and Gaul, Pannonia and Dalmatia, were furnishing a material out of which a second and extremely vigorous race of Romans could be formed, little was to be done in the old capital. In Rome Augustus was chiefly occupied in checking the measureless luxury and the personal degradation of the higher classes, and in making the strongest possible resistance to the tendency to celibacy that threatened the continuance of the race and the national extinction of the Romans. In 18 B.C. adultery and unchastity of the most varied kinds, that had become epidemic in both sexes, were threatened by a law *de adulteriis* with pecuniary penalties, and the convicted with banishment to distant islands. In 9 A.D. by the *Lex Papia Poppaea* the emperor gave what he hoped would be a decided check to the fatal tendency of the Romans to celibacy that had become the source of all possible licentiousness and other evils. This peculiar marriage law, with terms of extraordinary harshness, was based upon the duty of Romans to marry and to raise up children for the state. In his public rights and in the occupancy of the higher offices the unmarried Roman was placed at a decided disadvantage, and saw himself excluded from all inheritances except those of near relatives. The married but childless man might receive half of inheritances and legacies left to him, but he who was married and had children was to be decidedly favored in the distinctions of honor and in the canvass for office. The possession of a certain number of children brought freedom from many burdens, among others from the duty to undertake guardianships or to serve as jurymen. Divorce, also, which hitherto had been a matter of individual caprice, was brought under definite binding forms without which the separation was invalid and a second marriage adulterous.

Much more immediate in their effect upon Roman life were some of

Augustus's measures in reference to slaves. The condition of this unhappy class was not essentially and permanently changed till Hadrian. Yet Augustus did something for their more humane treatment, granted even to them — under certain circumstances — the imperial protection, forbade their masters without consent of the courts to give up their slaves for conflicts with wild beasts, and appears even to have established a court before which the slaves could bring complaints of cruel treatment, immoral demands, and insufficient maintenance. But on the other side, as he was otherwise sparing in conferring Roman citizenship, so he restrained the unceasing mixture of the body of Roman citizens with great numbers of foreign slaves by emancipations, such as were continually made by will or in other ways from no sufficient reasons. Several laws passed by Augustus (4 and 9 A.D.) reduced this practice within narrow limits, and subjected to an examination the age and worth of the emancipated slaves as well as the age of the masters and their reasons for emancipating, permitting also the testamentary release of only a definite number of subject persons.

The restless activity of Augustus for Rome and Romans was displayed with great effect and external magnificence in his attempt to transform the architectural appearance of the capital, which at that time, despite its immense size and wealth, could lay no claim to being a beautiful city.

The evil results of the hasty laying out of the city, after the destruction of Rome by the Celts, had never been overcome. The accumulation of the population had led to the construction of new quarters with narrow streets and high tenements, and the number of fine public buildings was small. Caesar had first occupied himself with plans for great and systematic improvements, of which, however, but few were completed, as the Forum Julium (PLATES II. and III.), near the principal market of the city, the model for similar works in the imperial time. Augustus followed Caesar's lead. In B.C. 8 he divided the city into fourteen regions, uniting the four old regions with the suburbs outside the old wall, and began great building enterprises, which gave work to the proletariat, and changed Rome 'from a city of brick into a city of marble.' The great families erected for themselves splendid private houses and palaces. Augustus, with the collaboration of Agrippa, who had a passion for building, constructed public works and monumental buildings. He restored the decaying edifices, especially the temples; he built new temples and porticos. He completed the structure begun by Caesar southwest of the Capitol, and named it, from his sister's son, the Theatre of Marcellus; and among his most



Ruins of the Roman Forum. (From a photograph.)



The Roman Forum: reconstructed. (Drawn by G. Rehlender.)

Temple of Castor and Pollux.

Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Tabularium.

Temple of Concord

Basilica Julia

Steps to the Capitol.

T. of Vespasian.

Ancient Rostrum.

Entrance of the Via Sacra.

Equestrian Statue of Domitian.

Arch of Septimius

Basilica Aemilia

Temple of Faustina.

beautiful works is the forum which received his name, next to the Julian Forum, completed, in B.C. 2, by the consecration of the temple of Mars Ultor. Agrippa, mostly from his own means, completed the Septa Julia on the Campus Martius, where the comitia were to assemble. They were connected with the great *Diribitorium*, where the voting-tablets for the people were divided and counted, the distributions of corn and money made, and the troops in the city paid. Northeast of the Septa lay the Campus of Agrippa, with its gardens, ponds, and buildings, given after his death, in B.C. 7, to the people by Augustus. Agrippa united the northwest side of the Septa by a basilica with the Pantheon (Fig. 3), completed in B.C. 25, a magnificent circular building with a gigantic dome, consecrated to Jupiter Ultor, Mars, and Venus, and with the splendid baths named from him, which he bequeathed to the people. He also constructed the aqueduct of the *Aqua Virgo*.

In Italy also Augustus tried to restore personal safety and police supervision. For administrative purposes he divided the land into eleven regions, with Rome itself as the twelfth.¹ The inhabitants remained under the imperial rule, free from the 'tributum,' and were subjected only to indirect taxes, such as the tax on the manumission of slaves, that upon all articles sold at public auction, and the succession tax, introduced in A.D. 6, by which Roman citizens paid to the state five per cent. of every inheritance or bequest, with an exemption for blood relations, and for inheritances under 100,000 sesterces (\$5200); and in A.D. 7 a tax laid upon the sale of slaves. To revive Italy, Augustus resorted to extensive colonization. As triumvir, after the defeat of Sextus Pompey, and still more as princeps, he tried to indemnify the Italian communities that had been driven out of their possessions by the veterans of Philippi by the payment of annuities. Caesar's colony in Capua received a tract of land in Crete, which brought in a yearly income of 1,200,000 sesterces, about \$62,250. The cities which suffered after the battle of Actium received new settlements in Dyrrhachium, in the colony of Philippi, founded after the victory in B.C. 42, and in other places beyond the sea. He continued the system of buying large tracts of land, and settling on them bodies of discharged veterans,

¹ Upper Italy, with which was joined the Istrian peninsula, was divided into Italia Transpadana (XI.), in the northwest as far as the Adda; Liguria (X.), south of this between the Po, Trebia, and the Tyrrhenian Sea; Venetia with Istria (IX.), in the northeast, and Aemilia (VIII.), in the southeast, between the Po, Trebia, and Apennines. Central Italy as far south as the Frento and Silarus, comprised Etruria (VII.), Umbria (VI.), Picenum (V.), Samnium (IV.), and Campania (I.); while Lower Italy was divided into Apulia with Calabria (II.), and Lucania with Bruttium (III.).

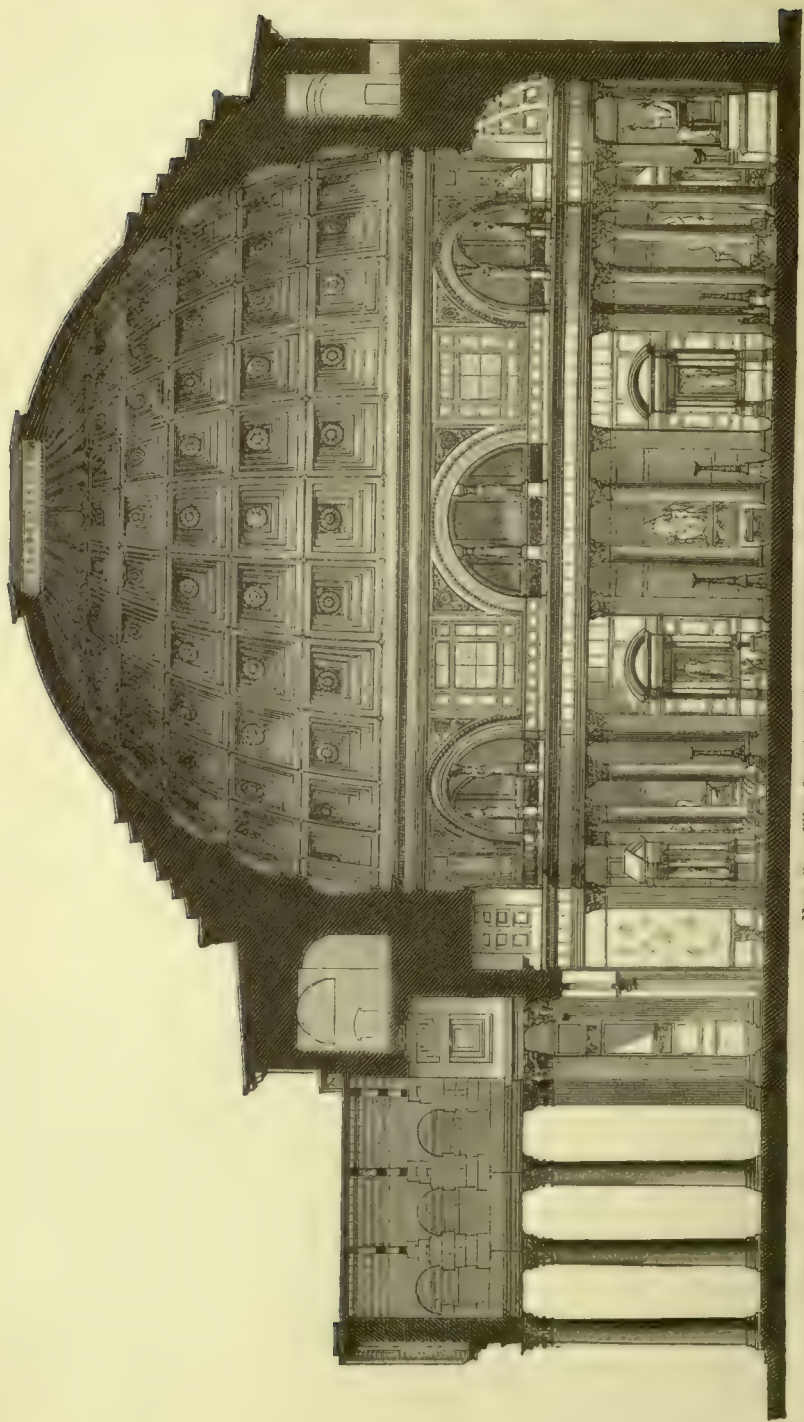


FIG. 3. — The Pantheon in Rome. (Cross-section.)

and with them numbers of the city proletariat. He founded twenty-eight such colonies, not all of which, however, prospered. The peninsula remained dependent for its supply of corn upon the transmarine provinces. The employment of slaves, the cultivation of gardens, pasturage, and production of oil and wine, continued its chief characteristics. Upper Italy had not suffered from the destructive forces elsewhere acting in the peninsula; slave-labor had not there driven out the free day-laborers and small farmers; the people were very generally engaged in agriculture, trade, and industry. With the accession of the emperors the country prospered greatly. Between the Alps and the



FIG. 4. — Temple at Pola.

Apennines many flourishing cities arose, some of which have continued to this day. On the Istrian coast the two excellent harbors of Tergeste and Pola (Fig. 4) were made colonies in B.C. 34. Pola became the most important port on the coast, rivalling Salona in Dalmatia, which was colonized in B.C. 27. With the advance of Roman supremacy over Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, Aquileia became the emporium of the northern trade, and down to the time of the Huns divided with the neighboring Altinum the importance which Venice inherited. On the west came Patavium, the richest city of the Cisalpine country, where 500 citizens attained the census of Roman knighthood. Cities like

Verona, Comum, Brixia (Brescia), and Bergomum, the fortresses of Cremona, Placentia, and farther on Ticinum (Pavia), were important from their position on the great military roads of Upper Italy. Vercellae, Eporedia (Ivrea), and Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), were originally military foundations, but changed into commercial cities. Augusta Taurinorum (Turin), the centring point of the great roads of the Italian north, became the most important city of the Transpadana, and was only gradually surpassed by the splendor of Mediolanum (Milan). The Alpine roads were built with the perfection of engineering skill characteristic of the period.

The autonomy of the Italian communities, which was established by Caesar's municipal law of B.C. 45, was not disturbed by Augustus. Each city had its commercial constitution, its own assemblies, its own senate, and its own courts, to which the entire territory of the city was subject, and which prepared the census lists of the commune for use at Rome. The judicial authority in every city was exercised by boards of four or two commissioners, the legal executives of the city, and its highest officials, after whom the year was named. In civil matters they had jurisdiction over cases not exceeding 15,000 sesterces (about \$780) in value, and in criminal matters over all cases which did not belong to the courts at Rome. These officers, and the aediles or superintendents of the police, and other public functionaries, were annually chosen by the community, divided into *curiae*. The conditions of eligibility were free birth, integrity, an age of twenty-five years, and the possession of property. The offices were unpaid, and involved considerable expense, in particular for the exhibition of games, for public buildings, and for the payment of sums to the city as 'honorary donations.' Every five years a budget of receipts and expenditures was made up. This was done by the judges then in office, who performed the censorial functions, and as 'Quinquennales' received a higher rank. Above the commonalty, and beside the officials, stood the senate, or city council, commonly called the *curia*, which consisted of a hundred life members, *decuriones*. The conditions of admission were the same as to the offices mentioned above. The list of its members was supplemented and renewed every five years by the Quinquennales. Chief among them were the families of the knights, among whom were commonly former officers of the legions. We have also to note the rise of a second order, the *Augustales*, between the decurions and the mass of the plebeians, and composed mostly of well-to-do freedmen, who in all the towns of Italy formed private sacred colleges, and made the 'genius' of the prince, later on

the Divus Augustus, the object of a cult. At the head of the Augustales stood the Sexviri, or Seviri, who, by the regulation of Augustus himself, were nominated by the decurions. From the yearly out-going Seviri was formed an *ordo Augustalium*. In the flourishing times of the empire there existed among the land-owning patriciate, the moneyed Augustales, whose riches were gained by trade and industry, a strong local patriotism.

Life at court under Augustus was neither exclusive nor ostentatious. It retained the traces of its democratic and military origin. Its centre was on the Palatine, which became an exclusively imperial possession. For a long time Augustus dwelt here in a house distinguished neither for size nor magnificence. He set apart a portion of the land for a temple to Vesta, and one to Apollo, which was consecrated in B.C. 25. A portico connected the latter with two beautiful halls, which served as libraries, and sometimes were used for the meetings of the senate. After the destruction of this dwelling by a great fire in A.D. 3, a great palace arose, in one wing of which were quarters for the new imperial guard stationed in Rome. In regulations, forms, and personnel the imperial court long bore the character of the households of the great noble families. It was in part from this reason that the immediate attendants of the emperor and the officials employed in the civil duties of the principate were universally his 'own people,' slaves, and especially freedmen. The emperors were thus able to choose their servants out of all nations, and found the Greeks particularly serviceable, from their versatility and many-sided culture. Roman citizens of even humble birth would not have accepted such positions. The freedmen remained in possession of all the court offices, although several offices attained the importance of offices of state, till the time of Vespasian, when the offices gradually passed into the hands of the knights.

But men of free descent were won over to the service of the court, who were not exactly in the relation of personal service, such as physicians, astrologers, tutors to the princes, and other learned men. They formed the link with wider circles surrounding the emperor. Persons were also drawn to the court, permanently or temporarily, with reference to their descent, for their social accomplishments, their talents, culture, and knowledge. Then there was the circle of 'friends.' Every Roman was regarded as the 'house-friend' of the emperor who received entrance and audience at the palace. This reception in the early morning was granted to all persons of senatorial

rank, and to a number of knights especially distinguished by the prince; and soon the distinction was made between 'friends of the first and the second class.' The first class, who commonly appeared every morning, formed the immediate circle around the emperors, and from it they chose the *consilium* and the greater part of their political council. From them also, when they journeyed out of Italy, were selected the 'companions,' who were assigned to state business, and served the emperor as a *consilium*, were paid during the continuance of the journey, and lodged with the emperor, or in his vicinity. On holidays like New Year's Day and the anniversary of the day of the emperor's accession, there was a reception of the people of all classes at the palace, and often great public banquets were given, to which not only senators and knights, but persons of lower rank, were invited. As the principate grew, it was accompanied by a definite ceremonial. The emperor had the right of appearing publicly at all times and places in the crimson-bordered toga of the magistrates, and on public festivals in the triumphal toga, which was all crimson and embroidered with gold. He wore the silver laurel wreath, and as *imperator* carried the sword, and in triumphal processions the sceptre. He was accompanied by twelve lictors, and before him were carried a lighted torch and a censor. If he left Rome for any length of time, the senate and the officials of the city accompanied him outside the city, and met him on his return. After the battle of Actium, the birthday of Augustus was made a public holiday; and afterward the birthday of the reigning emperor and the day of his accession were similarly observed.

Augustus and his friend Maecenas maintained for a long period close relations with a company of brilliant writers who have lent the glory of their name to the government of the first emperor, and made it the golden, or Augustan, age of Latin literature.

This literature was of a different character from that of the republic. With the extinction of the party struggles, the proud oratory of Rome died out forever. But the historians found a splendid prose in existence, which made it possible to relate historical facts in a pure style, with rhetorical art. Titus Livius (Livy), of Patavium, who lived from B.C. 59 to A.D. 17, now wrote a magnificent account of the entire history of Rome. The contemporaries of the Civil Wars, among them M. Valerius Messala and the renowned C. Asinius Pollio (B.C. 75 to A.D. 5), wrote accounts of the prominent men of this epoch, which were based on their own memories. Yet it was difficult to write with unbiassed judgment the history of the immediate past and of the present. Those

who did not wish to support the dynasty turned to more remote subjects. Thus Cn. Pompeius Trogus, probably a contemporary of Livy, wrote from Grecian sources a universal history, which began with the Assyrian Ninus, and gave special attention to Macedonian history and the time of the Diadochi, and was brought down to his own time. It is known to us mainly by the abridgment of Justin. Many Greeks found an attractive subject in Roman history, for which they found abundant material in Rome itself. Among them were the Sicilian Diodorus of Agyrium, who, in his "Historical Library," comes down to the Celtic conquests of Caesar; and the rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who migrated to Rome in B.C. 30 or 29, and, after a residence there of twenty-two years, completed, in B.C. 7, his great work on the history of Rome, with special regard to the earliest times, ending with the Punic wars. Strabo, of Amasia in Asia Minor (B.C. 66 to A.D. 24), prepared in his own home his geographical description of the world, which was based on his own travels and researches.

The love of antiquarian study made great advances. Investigations were made in grammar, literary history, and other subjects, by M. Verrius Flaccus and C. Julius Hyginus; while in the exact sciences Vitruvius Pollio, about the year B.C. 14, wrote his ten books "On Architecture."

The principate had a peculiar influence on the development of the most national of all Roman sciences — jurisprudence. Augustus sought to bind the practical jurists by their interest to the government. In Rome persons learned in the law, who showed their knowledge by the opinions they gave when applied to and by the views they laid down in their writings, had among the judges a certain authority. Augustus turned the custom of giving *responsæ*, or opinions, upon application, into a right, expressly conferred upon a number of jurists. When these agreed in their opinions, the judges were bound by their decision. In this way a new practice of law-making arose. The lawyers began to enlarge their science; and under Augustus two schools came into existence, founded respectively by M. Antistius Labeo, whose followers were called Proculians, after his scholar Proculus, and C. Ateius Capito, whose followers were called Sabinians, from his scholar Sabinus. Labeo (B.C. 59 to A.D. 12) represented the independent opposition to the principate; while his opponent, Capito (B.C. 34 to A.D. 22), who as jurist and writer was by no means his equal, supported the monarchical tendency. Capito remained true to the old principles of interpretation of the positive law, appealing to the precedents and the

legal axioms of the older time ; while Labeo was an innovator, looking into the principle and purpose of every legal institution, and therefore giving wider play to equity.

Augustus opened two great public libraries in Rome, and gave support to all manifestations of intellectual life. In connection with Maecenas he tried to influence the poetry of the time, which was striving for Hellenic perfection of form. About Asinius Pollio, Messala, and Maecenas, gathered circles of eminent poets. The tendency to turn from political to literary interests was fostered by a new custom, according to which authors, before putting their writings in circulation, presented them for criticism by reading them to a number of friends.

Thus the age of Augustus was productive of much and varied poetry, in which correctness of language, brilliancy of expression, and perfection of external form, took the place of originality, and sought to make amends for the manifest dependence upon Greek models. Dramatic poetry flourished least of all ; for the public took chief delight in the spectacular side of dramatic representations, — in splendid decorations (Fig. 5), and brilliant costumes of the theatre, where the chief place was taken by the pantomime, a peculiar mixture of comedy, opera, and ballet, brought to high perfection by two great artists, Pylades and Bathyllus. But all other kinds of poetry found eminent representatives. Publius Vergilius Maro (Virgil), born October 15, B.C. 70, at Andes near Mantua, was the son of a farmer. In B.C. 41 and 40 he came near losing his estate by the colonizing of the veterans of Philippi, and escaped only through the favor of Maecenas and Octavian. Afterward he lived in Rome and Naples. His "*Bucolics*," which he published between B.C. 41 and 39, after the pattern of the *Idylls* of Theocritus, express his thankful homage to his friends. The "*Georgics*," B.C. 37–30, four books on agriculture, he dedicated to Maecenas. At the request of Augustus he began, in B.C. 29, a great epic poem, of which the hero should be the legendary ancestor of the Romans and of the Julian house, the Trojan Aeneas. Virgil died September 22, B.C. 19, at Brundisium. The "*Aeneid*," to which he could not put the final touches, was regarded by the Romans, for brilliancy and dignity of language, and for elegance of composition, as a masterpiece. A poet of a different kind was Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace), who was born in Venusia, December 8, B.C. 65, the son of a freedman. He received an excellent education, finished in the philosophical schools of Athens ; and he fought as tribune under Marcus Brutus. Returning to Rome after the overthrow at Philippi, he secured a clerkship in the

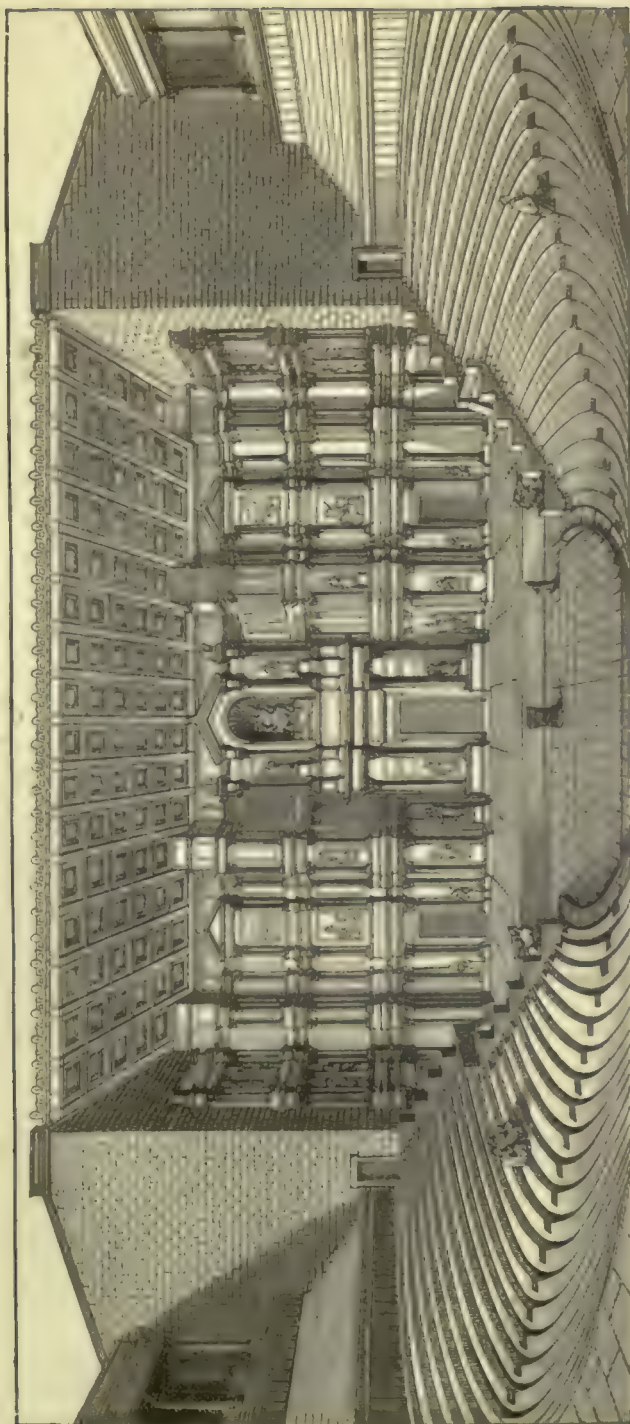


FIG. 5. — The Roman Theatre at Orange (in Vaucluse, France). Restored with stage-buildings.

quaestor's office, and began to make use of his poetical talent. His friends introduced him, in B.C. 39, to Maecenas, who became his patron and friend. In B.C. 34 he received from him an estate in the Sabine country, north of Tibur, which gave him independence. He died November 27, B.C. 8, not long after the death of Maecenas. For Horace the day of Philippi was a turning-point. The ideals of his youth were gone, and nothing remained for him but resignation. He reached the intelligent conviction that the principate was an unavoidable necessity and indeed a blessing for the Romans; and with good conscience he could recommend to his contemporaries, in support of Augustus, the virtues of simplicity and contentment, and the putting away of restless ambition and daring plans. His view of the world would appear very egotistic, were it not tempered with tact and amiability. Moderation and freedom from stormy passion, — to be disturbed by nothing, to be content with what one has, to seize every offered favor of fortune, to cultivate friendship, love, and the companionship of the Muses — such is the sum of his wisdom. The rich culture, delicate taste, and pure transparency of his style, gave to his composition — to his satires, to his odes, modelled after those of Alcaeus and Sappho, and to his epistles in verse — a charm which lasts even to this day. Tibullus, B.C. 54–19, and Propertius, B.C. 49–18, wrote erotic elegies. Publius Ovidius Naso (Ovid), born in Sulmo in the country of the Peligni, of equestrian rank, a man of high cultivation, brought the technique of Roman poetry to its highest point. The composition, language, versification, and harmonious symmetry of his poems, the easy flow, the charm and grace of his verses, enraptured his contemporaries. His *Heroides*, his *Amores*, his "Art of Love," cast in the form of didactic poem, which appeared in the year B.C. 2 or 1, and his "Cures for Love," in the year A.D. 1 or 2, were read with delight. While he was engaged upon his mythological poem, *Metamorphoses*, and with the collection of Roman legends in the form of a holiday calendar (*Fasti*), Augustus banished him in December, 9 A.D., for some connection with the misdeeds of his granddaughter Julia, to Tomi, on the Black Sea (near Kustendje), where, notwithstanding the complaints poured out in his *Tristia* and "Pontic Letters," he died in the second half of A.D. 17.

When Augustus, on his return from Egypt, in B.C. 29, took in hand the organization of the defences of the realm, he did not intend to form a military monarchy, but to restore among officers and soldiers the discipline that had disappeared during the civil wars, and to make the army a useful member of the state.

It was a fundamental principle that no army should remain upon Italian soil. The troops were distributed through the border provinces, in positions chosen for their strategic importance. The strong intrenched camps became in many cases the origin of large and important cities. In times of peace the soldiers, in addition to their military duties, were employed on great state works, such as the great roads and the draining of swampy districts. Augustus wished the legions to consist of Roman citizens, and to make them instruments in Romanizing the realm. The legions of the West were recruited to a large degree from Italy, and especially Upper Italy; but the communities of the western provinces that had full citizenship added a considerable contingent. In the East, communities possessing the Latin right were few; and the legions were recruited mainly from the Greek provinces, and especially from Galatia. The soldiers must be of free and legitimate birth, and have a settled home. The command remained everywhere in Latin hands; and it became customary for the recruits raised from non-Roman peoples to receive by their enlistment itself, for themselves and their descendants, full Roman citizenship. The shorter period for active service, and the yearly enlistment of the entire generation of young men, with great masses of reserves, were abandoned. The soldiers served twenty years under the eagles; and it became necessary to make good only the yearly withdrawals, which, under Augustus, may have reached 18,000 or 20,000 men. Since the volunteers, who came for the most part from the landless class, were not always enough, drafts were resorted to, though substitutes might be supplied. At their discharge the soldiers received provision for their old age; for a time this was paid in money, the sum in A.D. 5 being 3000 denarii (\$623). As a rule, however, the emperors preferred to settle the veterans in the provinces, as a means of Romanizing the realm, and strengthening the border-lands against foreign enemies. Augustus wished to husband his resources, and, down to the German wars, neither thought of new conquests nor believed there was any enemy to fear. He consequently retained, of the fifty legions under his command at Actium, only eighteen; but he kept the numbers and the names which the legions had acquired from the lands where they were enrolled, from the enemies they had conquered, from divinities, or from events in their history. The legion now formed a small army by itself, and comprised three classes of arms. The infantry, equipped in the ancient style, numbered about 5300 men, divided into ten cohorts. Each cohort consisted of six centuries of eighty men, but the first or praetorian cohort had

double this number. There was a division of cavalry, 120 strong, in four squadrons; and a park of artillery, containing ten heavy missile engines and fifty-five lighter battering ones. The divisions of workmen, constructors of artillery and fortifications, sappers and miners, and engineers, formed an independent corps, under a prefect of the equestrian order. The common soldier could hold the various subaltern positions, and might be promoted to the grade of centurion as high as *primipilus*, the leader of the first century of the first cohort; but there his regular chances of promotion were at an end. At the close of their service the centurions either returned to private life, or were appointed commandants of the intrenched camps (camp-prefects). Occasionally they were transferred to the engineer corps, or to the special divisions stationed at Rome; but only in rare cases were they called to a higher command. The legate of senatorial rank, commonly an ex-praetor, commanded the legion and its auxiliaries, and had under him six tribunes, young men of senatorial or equestrian rank, who had not served in the ranks, but as a rule had acquired their military experience on the staff of the legate. As the leaders of the legion, on the march or in battle, they belonged, with the *primipilus* and the leaders of the cohorts, to the military council, and were usually employed in administrative duties.

To the legionaries were joined the auxiliary troops, the contingents of subject communities or of the client-states, enrolled in the imperial, but not in the senatorial provinces. They consisted of cavalry and of light-armed troops of all kinds, and commonly equalled the number of the legionaries, and were always attached to the legions. Some were equipped and trained in the Roman manner, while some used the arms customary in their countries (Fig. 6). The auxiliaries were divided into cohorts of 500 to 1000 men, and into *alae* of cavalry of 480 to 960 horse; and after twenty-five years of service were rewarded with the Roman citizenship.

Augustus also established a standing war-fleet, composed mainly of triremes and liburnians. The two Italian divisions of 250 sail, manned with ten cohorts of marines, were stationed at Misenum and Ravenna. Squadrons were kept at Forum Julii (Frejus), in Gaul, and at Aquileia; the Pontic fleet at Trapezus, with forty ships and 3000 marines, watched the Black Sea; and the Egyptian fleet performed the coast-guard and customs service on the Nile. The crews were taken from freedmen and provincials, and obtained Roman citizenship only by a service of twenty-six years or more.

The most favored body of troops was the imperial guard (Fig. 7), maintained in the capital. It came into existence in B.C. 42, in the reorganization after Philippi. From 8000 veterans whose service then expired several praetorian cohorts were formed; and as after the establishment of the principate the 'permanent emperor' had his headquarters in Rome, the guard became permanent. It consisted of nine cohorts of a thousand men each. The time of service was four years shorter than that of the legions; the recruits, exclusively volunteers,



FIG. 6. — Archers from the reliefs on the column of Trajan. Their long garments and pointed helmets show that they are Oriental allies. (From Fröhner.)

were taken at first from the old Latin portions of Italy; but after Tiberius volunteers were accepted from other parts of Italy and from the Romanized provinces. Under Augustus only three cohorts were quartered in Rome, where they formed the guard of the palace, and were clad in the toga. The other cohorts were divided among the places of the peninsula where the emperors were wont to reside. Each cohort, commanded by a tribune, was composed of ten centuries of infantry and ten squadrons of cavalry. In the beginning Augustus commanded in person; but after the year B.C. 2 he appointed two *praefecti praetorio*,

taken from men of knightly rank. At their discharge the praetorians received a gratuity of 5000 denarii (§1040), or an estate in Italy.

The members of the 'city cohorts,' the garrison of Rome, which maintained order in the capital, like the praetorian guard, were recruited from Italy. The battalions numbered a thousand men and over; they were commanded by tribunes, and were immediately under the emperor until Tiberius established a standing presidency of the police. The barracks in Rome (*castra urbana*) were on the northern slope of the Quirinal (near Piazza SS. Apostoli). The garrison stood in rank and pay below the guard, but above the legionaries. The personal body-guard of the emperor consisted of Batavians and other Germans, and was not part of the army.

The military organization, though the army at first comprised some 250,000 men, probably did not impose a heavy financial burden upon the realm. In times of peace from §21,000,000 to §25,000,000 a year was needed for the army in the reign of Tiberius, when the army stood at from three to four hundred thousand men.

The governors of the provinces assigned to the senate, when the emperor did not designate the choice, were selected by lot each year, and were called proconsuls, though only Asia and Africa were reserved for ex-consuls. Their authority was greatly diminished, for the raising of troops and the levying of taxes were in the hands of the emperor; he frequently interfered in the provincial administration. They retained the civil jurisdiction, and had criminal jurisdiction over those who were not citizens.

In the imperial provinces men who had held a consulship or a praetorship were appointed governors; in Syria and the Rhine countries, only ex-consuls. As they were subject to the proconsular imperium of the emperor, they stood in the position of *propraetores*, and as the agents of the imperator were called *legati Augusti*. The emperor gave them as subordinate officials assessors in legal matters, and *procuratores* on the financial side. The imperial governors had no fixed tenure of office, but on the whole were changed less often than the pro-



FIG. 7.—Praetorian guards. From a restored relief in the Louvre. (From Clarac.)

consuls of the senate. As representatives of the emperor they commanded the troops in their provinces. In civil matters an appeal lay from them to the emperor, and in criminal matters they probably had capital jurisdiction over citizens.

The system of provincial administration instituted by Augustus was beneficial to the whole empire. In the second century of our era, Greece entered upon a new period of prosperity; and eighty years after Actium, Asia was again counted among the richest provinces of the realm. The change from a system of spoliation to a regular and careful administration; the personal interference of the emperor in times of need; the new regulation of justice, which made it possible for provincials to bring complaints to Rome; and the strict supervision which even bad emperors exercised, controlling and punishing the governors for malfeasance,—all this regenerated the provinces, old and new. The forms of provincial administration were adapted to local political conditions, and varied with each province. The regulations for the imperial provinces were applied also to the senatorial, and the emperor made every exertion to put an end to extortion. Assemblies of the provinces, composed of the principal men, and of representatives of the municipal authorities in the Greek-speaking countries based on older confederacies, were allowed to meet. Their chief function was the cult of the emperor and his house, the care of sacrifices, games, and festivals, and passing resolutions in honor of the emperor and the out-going governors; but they could also send embassies direct to the senate and the emperor, make complaints against governors, and present petitions; and they could receive the emperor's answers, as a body.

The provinces were benefited by the measures intended to strengthen and make efficient the central government. The construction of roads was carried on unflaggingly by all emperors, and spread a great network over the entire Roman world. The starting-point was the Golden Mile-stone, erected in B.C. 20 by Augustus in the Forum at Rome. These roads were built chiefly for the rapid transportation of the legions for the defence of the realm, but were a great benefit in other ways. Travel upon them was safe, agricultural products could be more easily conveyed to a market; the result was the growth of agriculture, of traffic, and general intercourse. Augustus established a state postal system, but it was not used by private individuals. The schemes of colonization, the transfer of Italian land-owners and of the Roman proletariat, the settlement of the veteran soldiers, were of help

to the provinces. After Actium, Augustus established sixty colonies of different kinds in various parts of the empire. In Africa, Caesar's colony of Carthage was re-enforced in B.C. 29 with 3000 new colonists, and again made the capital of the province. Colonies were sent to Africa and Mauretania, to Spain, Gaul, Sicily, Macedonia, Achaia, and Hellenic Asia; in a single year fully 120,000 settlers were sent out. The new city Actia-Nicopolis (B.C. 30), and the great colony of Patrae (B.C. 14), became of importance to Greece, as did the strengthened New Corinth, capital of the new province of Achaia. In the newly conquered 'barbarian' provinces, when colonies were established, the settlers either formed an independent community by the side of an already existing community; or the old inhabitants were associated with the new settlers under new forms; or the incoming soldiers were simply added to the community; at the same time provincial cities were taken into the Roman citizenship, or received the 'Latin' right, and became Roman or 'Latin' municipia, or colonies. Their citizens were bound to pay the provincial taxes, and were subject to the higher jurisdiction of the governors. It became common for the colonies to receive privileges which secured them exemption from the superintendence of the governor, and from the poll and land taxes. Their position was most desirable when they received the *jus Italicum*; they then had civic liberty and freedom from taxation, and possessed their lands as in Italy.

Groups of provinces were associated into tax districts, which were separated from one another by customs boundaries, a procedure profitable to the state treasury, though interfering with commercial interchange; the duties were proportioned to the value of the goods, and differed in different provinces.

To obtain a more intelligent and equitable division of taxes, Augustus undertook a survey of the realm, which was carried out by Agrippa, and completed in B.C. 19.¹ In B.C. 27 Augustus took a comprehensive census of the provinces of the state, with the object of registering existing incomes, which became the foundation of a reform of the entire tax system. In the old provinces no considerable difficulties were met in carrying it out; but in the newly acquired lands, as in Gaul, much preparatory work had to be done. It became the custom to begin the regulation of every new province by taking a

¹ One of the results of this survey was the placing in a portico in Rome, for the use of the public, a map of the ancient world engraved on a large scale, in the form of a marble sphere. It became the source of all practical geographical works of later antiquity, in particular of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. (See Vol. VI., Plate I.)

census. After the first survey, steps were taken to secure a more correct levying of the land-tax, by a methodical measurement of the land, and a classification of estates. This vast work was only completed under Trajan. The land-tax was paid by the 'possessors,' the owners of estates who could live on the proceeds from them. On those engaged in industrial pursuits, or on merchants, fell the personal tax, laid upon personal property and upon the profits of labor. The collection of these taxes was step by step withdrawn from the tax-farmers, and placed in the hands of the communities. Only the tax on the manumission of slaves, the auction-tax, the customs, and a part of the revenues of the domain, were still farmed out for periods of five years.



FIG. 8. — Interior view of the Arch of Augustus at Nemausus (Nîmes).
(From *Rev. archéol.*)

For many years in the beginning of his principate, Augustus was kept away from Rome by his labors in the provinces. His first care, after the great political settlement, was to rearrange the affairs of Gaul. In B.C. 22 he handed over Narbonensis to the senate, and divided the territory conquered by Caesar, for purposes of administration, into three parts — Aquitania, between the Pyrenees and the Loire; Lugdunensis, between the Loire, Seine, Marne, and Saône, with Lugdunum as the central Roman city; and Belgica, the land between Lugdunensis and the Rhine. For military purposes the country was placed under a single commander. The Celtic portion Augustus formed into sixty-four administrative districts, each with a prominent place as a centre; and

Lugdunum, connected by four great roads with all parts of the country, was made the capital. Here the assembly of the three provinces annually met. By the time of Tiberius this city had outstripped the older Narbo. Nemausus (Nîmes) was adorned with the magnificent arch which still remains (Fig. 8). The strength of the army in Gaul we do not know; but the legions were stationed along the line from Amiens to the Moselle, and on the Helvetian Upper Rhine, the place most dangerous for the empire. For the defence of Helvetia, Raurica was strengthened and a system of fortifications formed, whose key was the fortress Vindonissa (Windisch). Augustus strove to break the power of the nobility and the Druids, classes that stubbornly opposed the Romans, and to give greater freedom to the people. Human sacrifices were forbidden; whoever wished to acquire Roman citizenship must renounce Druidism. But the hardest blow to the old Celtic religion was the blending of the Celtic divinities with the Roman.

Augustus remained in Gaul till the autumn of B.C. 27, and then went to Spain, where, from the new capital, Tarraco, he opened the campaign against the warlike Cantabri in the mountains on the Bay of Biscay, and against their neighbors, the Astures and the Vaccaei, who had been annoying the Romans since B.C. 45. After a hard struggle, that lasted for three years, the Cantabri surrendered. A number of military

colonies were founded to keep northwestern Spain in subjection, of which the colony of veterans, Augusta Emerita (Merida), on the Guadiana (in B.C. 25), was to be the capital of Lusitania, which was then organized as the third Spanish province.

Among the few unfulfilled wishes of Augustus was the one that he might leave behind a son. He had, in B.C. 40, when he was twenty-three years old, married, for political reasons, Scribonia, but soon after fell in love with the much more beautiful and younger Livia Drusilla (Fig. 9). She was descended from the great censor, Appius Claudius Caecus, was born B.C. 58, and, having married her cousin, Tib. Claudius Nero, became, in B.C. 43, the mother of Tiberius. Livia's charms and intellectual gifts impelled the young Octavian to divorce Scribonia, though she had just borne him Julia, his only child, and to persuade Livia's husband to surrender his wife. The new alliance was concluded with such haste, in B.C. 39, that three months after the marriage (in



FIG. 9. — Livia. Portrait on a gold coin. Inscribed ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ (= *Diva Augusta*); struck in Byzantium after the death of Livia. (Imhoof-Blumer.)

B.C. 38), Nero's second son, Drusus, was born in Octavian's house. Nero soon died (in B.C. 34), and Octavian became the guardian of his two step-sons. Livia's beauty and grace, her blameless behavior as a wife, and high mental endowments, were not more remarkable than the wise discretion with which she managed her husband. Yet, to his constant sorrow, she bore him no son. The contending family interests of the Julii and the Claudii, which entered the palace through this union, were not easily harmonized; and there sprung up at the court a silent struggle that entailed frightful consequences. It was the purpose of Augustus to settle the succession to the principate upon the Julian house. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was the son of his sister Octavia, born in B.C. 42 or 41, by her first marriage. In B.C. 25 he was married to Julia, then fourteen years old, and at the same time adopted by the emperor, to the great discontent of Agrippa. Marcellus died in B.C. 23, at the baths of Baiae; and in the following year Augustus became reconciled with Agrippa, who, divorced, in B.C. 21, from Octavia's daughter, Marcella, married the young widow, Julia. As the son-in-law of the emperor, Agrippa was regarded as the second man in the state.

Augustus then devoted some years to the administration of Greece and the Orient; and the arrangements then put in force long remained undisturbed. The heritage of Amyntas, the last king of Galatia, who died in B.C. 25, was incorporated with the realm. Galatia, with Pisidia, eastern Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Isauria, to which were added, in B.C. 7, Central Paphlagonia and Galatian Pontus, were brought together into the imperial province of 'Galatia,' administered by a legate at Ancyra. Augustus showed special favor to the Idumean king of Judea, Herod 'the Great,' whose reign began in B.C. 37. After the battle of Actium, he had recommended himself to Octavian by changing sides, and proved his worth in many ways by acts of munificence toward various Greek states, and by fostering Hellenism in his kingdom. Legally Herod was a procurator of the emperor, with the title of king. One legion was stationed for his defence at Jerusalem, and the king was bound to pay tribute to Rome, and to furnish auxiliary troops. The emperor now added to his dominion Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Auranitis. The most brilliant success of Augustus was the settlement with the Parthians. The disgrace of Carrhae and the last disaster of Antony were still unatoned, but Augustus secured by his diplomacy two important advantages. He set free the son of King Phraates, and demanded in return the eagles and prisoners that had fallen into Parthian hands. Phraates did not hasten to perform his part: but when,

in B.C. 20, Augustus appeared in Syria, and sent his young stepson, Tiberius, who possessed great abilities as a general, with a strong force to Armenia, Phraates thought it time to satisfy his demands. The eagles and the Roman prisoners were delivered to Tiberius, and peace and friendship established between Rome and the court at Ctesiphon, and Phraates looked quietly on while Armenia passed from Parthian to Roman dependence.

When, in B.C. 19, Augustus returned to Rome, his restoration of the Parthian booty was regarded as a great victory; and the emperor expressed his decided conviction that the Romans should be content with the present boundaries of the realm, and should not aspire for new conquests.

Agrippa was drawn still closer to the person of the emperor when, in B.C. 18, the tribunician power in 'secondary form' was conferred upon him for five years by co-optation, and when Julia, who in B.C. 20 had already borne to Agrippa one son, Caius, became the mother of Lucius in B.C. 17. Augustus adopted both grandsons (Fig. 10), hailing them with the name 'Caesar.'

During the year B.C. 16 the peoples occupying the long northern boundary from the Lower Rhine to Pannonia were in motion. Pannonian races north of the Drave plundered Istria; the Rhaetians ravaged the district of Como and Verona; and on the Lower Rhine the Usipetes, Teneteri, and Sugambri made a foray far into the Belgian country, and defeated the legate, M. Lollius Paullinus. The Pannonians and the Alpine peoples were at once driven back; and Augustus himself hastened to Gaul with his stepson Tiberius. At his approach the Sugambri retreated over the Rhine, and hastened to make peace. Engaged in the pressing task of quieting the Celts, who were exasperated by the extortions of his procurator Licinus, Augustus remained three years in Lugdunum, and planned a great undertaking against the peoples on the northern border. The Alpine tribes were to be subdued once for all, and the Danube in its whole length made the boundary of the realm. The chief burden of this task was to fall upon the two ambitious stepsons of the emperor, — Tiberius, who had already shown talent as administrator and officer, and Drusus, the amiable and brilliant favorite of Augustus.

The first attack was made simultaneously upon the Rhaetians and



FIG. 10. — Roman gold coin of Caius and Lucius Caesar, adopted sons of Augustus (Berlin).

Vindelicians. The former dwelt in the Alps, between the St. Gotthard and the Upper Inn valley; the latter, of Celtic origin, occupied the district north of Lake Constance to the Upper Danube, as far east as the Lower Inn. In the summer of B.C. 15 Drusus advanced up the Adige, defeated a part of the Rhaeti at Trent, at the foot of the Alps, and crossed the Brenner. Tiberius, from the west, reached the lake of Constance, defeated the Vindelici in a naval engagement near Reichenau, and after routing the Brigantii east of the lake, made connections with the army of his brother. The princes divided their armies into columns, which put down all opposition. One division pushed into Noricum, and subjugated this land; and, by the end of the summer, the Romans were masters of the Alps. Rhaetia and Vindelicia were depopulated to assure the speedy Romanizing of the country. The able-bodied young men were formed into cohorts of auxiliaries, or settled in other provinces, and only so many inhabitants were left as were necessary for the wants of agriculture. Immediately great military roads were built to unite the chief points of Upper Italy with the Upper Danube, Lake Constance, and eastern Switzerland. Now arose the beautiful town on the Lech, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), the central point of administration, at first a 'market' (*forum*) without civil rights, but in Hadrian's time a town. Campodunum (Kempten) and Brigantium (Bregenz) were given Italian rights. Wherever garrisons were stationed on the Danube, and at prominent points on the roads, settlements grew up. The southern slope of the Alps was joined to Italy, and allotted to the individual communities. The other Alpine lands were organized as the great province of 'Rhaetia,' which included Vindelicia and the district of the Pennine and Graian Alps, and were administered by officials of the imperial household, — men of equestrian rank, who could not think of aspiring to supremacy at Rome; and the troops assigned them were gathered from the auxiliaries of various provinces. Noricum, which extended easterly from the Inn to beyond Carnutum (Petronell), below Vienna, was united by personal union, after the manner of Egypt. It was managed by a procurator as viceroy of the emperor, having his residence at Celeia. A network of roads was constructed through the district extending from Aquileia to Pannonia. The country, which became Romanized very quickly, was made a province in the time of Claudius. Under him Celeia (Cilli), Virunum (Maria Saal), and Juvavum (Salzburg) became Roman cities; and, after the time of Claudius, an armed fleet was kept on the Danube.

The effectiveness of the new army had been brilliantly displayed in this campaign; and Augustus saw with pleasure that, besides Agrippa, he had in his family two able generals, to whom the conduct of important military undertakings could be intrusted without fear. This seems to have overcome his objection to beginning new wars for conquest. The conquest of Pannonia and of the tract between the Save and the Noric Alps seemed indispensable; for the Pannonian, Illyrian and Celtic races were restless in B.C. 14.

But much more serious was the project of subduing Germany. The Romans had but imperfect knowledge of the nature and extent of the country, and their first campaigns were essentially military reconnoissances. Only gradually was the purpose formed in the mind of Augustus to set the final boundary of the empire on the Elbe. The unexpected danger from the Marcomanni afterward led to the thought of the conquest of Bohemia and Moravia, and the advance of the frontier to the sources of the Oder and Vistula. The Romans thought that their boundaries would be secure only when the peoples between the Danube and the Rhine were prevented from exerting their constant disquieting influence upon the Celts.



FIG. 11. — Drusus. Antique bust in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)

Augustus, returning from Lugdunum to Rome in B.C. 13, assigned to Drusus (Fig. 11) the conduct of the German war. In B.C. 13 the subjection of Pannonia was intrusted to Agrippa, who, since B.C. 17, had been occupied in the Orient with important affairs; but before he could do anything of consequence he was overtaken by death in March, B.C. 12, in Campania. Augustus lost in him his strongest support and most trusted friend. At the news of his death all Pannonia broke into revolt, and was joined by Dalmatia. Tiberius, who was given the command, by skilful generalship and energy in two campaigns, B.C. 12 and 11, overcame them. The extermination and transportation of great masses of able-bodied men, the sale of prisoners into slavery, and disarming of the population, were used to break their strength. But only in B.C. 9 was quiet established. The Danube was now regarded in its whole course as the Roman boundary. The legions were placed in the district between the Save and the Drave in

a series of fortresses that controlled northern Pannonia and Dalmatia. Besides Siscia, Sirmium (Mitrowitz), the Roman colony Emona (Lai-bach) and Poetovio (Pettau) became centres of influence. Moesia along the lower Danube also received a definite organization.¹ The newly acquired lands on the Danube towards Upper Italy were united into the tax district of Illyria.

The same year of 9 B.C., in which Tiberius was able to conclude his work in Dalmatia and Pannonia, led him to a new task in the interior of Germany, where for a series of years his brother Drusus had been occupied with important success. In 16 B.C. the army corps in Belgica was advanced to the Rhine, and raised to five or six legions, making with the auxiliary contingents from 50,000 to 60,000 veteran troops on the left bank of the Rhine. This was now systematically turned into a Roman military frontier. The strongest points on the river were made into fortresses, to repulse the attacks of the Germans, and to be the bases of operations against the interior: they were *Castra Vetera*, commonly called *Vetera*, on the Vorstenberg (near Xanten), which controlled the district at the mouth of the Lippe; the camp near the town of the Ubii (Cologne); and *Mogontiacum* (Mayence) opposite the mouth of the Main. The new military boundary from Alsace to the delta of the Rhine and the Meuse was henceforth officially called *Germania*, and was to serve as the basis for the conquest of the great unknown land as far as the Elbe, which it was hoped would be added to the realm as a real new province. This heavy task Augustus entrusted to Drusus. On returning to Rome in 13 B.C. Drusus received the governorship of Gaul and the command of the forces on the left bank of the Rhine. The young general very materially strengthened his basis of operations on the Rhine, partly by new works at the chief fortresses of Mayence and *Vetera*, and partly by constructing about fifty castles on the river bank between the Roman winter camps. At Mayence, Cologne, and *Vetera* towers were built on the right bank to protect the pontoon bridges that were to be thrown across the river. The chief attack of the Romans was to be directed against Lower Germany, where the country seemed to offer few difficulties, and which could also be attacked by sea. A strong fleet was equipped on the Rhine, and in order to spare the squadron designed to explore the north coast the dangerous passage through the British Channel, Drusus had a canal con-

¹ It is only doubtful whether the land to the east and north of Macedonia, subdued in 29 B.C., of which the principal part of the valley of the Hebrus in Thrace had been given to the client state of the Odryssae, had been already in 16 or 15 B.C. completely separated from Macedonia as the new province of 'Moesia,' and placed under an imperial (consular) legate, or whether this was first done in connection with the victories of Tiberius in Pannonia.

structed in the present Netherlands, by great works on the Yssel and the Berkel, between the large northern arm of the Rhine, which had already begun to divide, and Lake Flevo, the present Zuyder Zee, which, however, had not then reached its present size. In these works he was assisted by the Low German tribes of the district, whose interest Drusus had secured for the Roman state by a skilful use of that foreign policy, which in the master hands of the Romans was always extremely dangerous for the Germans. The German peoples between the Rhine and Elbe, the North Sea and the Thuringian Forest, were by no means homogeneous and had no common bond of union. The chief attack of the Romans was naturally directed against the Sugambri, who were then foremost in western Germany and who dwelt between the Lippe and the Lahn, and against their clients, the Usipetes and the Tencteri. From the Bructeri also, between the Lippe, the Osning, and the upper and middle Ems, stubborn resistance was to be expected. On the other hand, the warlike Chatti, in the river district of the Edder, the Fulda, and the upper Weser, along the south bank of the Lahn, and in the Mt. Taunus, did not hold fast to the cause of their countrymen. Still unknown to the Romans were the Cherusci in the forest and mountainous districts between the upper Harz and Osning and in the country south along the Weser as far as the Diemel and north to Minden, and also the Hermunduri in the central districts from the Werra to Lusatia. The Romans at once succeeded in gaining over a part of the Low Germans occupying the coast district of the Channel and the North Sea. Of the three great tribes — the Chauci in the morasses on both sides of the lower Weser between Haarburg and the marshes west of the Jade, the Frisii in the marshes of North Holland and from the Yssel to the Ems and Jade, and the Batavii on the islands in the delta of the Meuse, the Waal, and the Rhine, to whom the Canninefates in North Holland were closely related — of these, the Batavians, on whom under the comfortable form of an alliance was put only the obligation to serve in the army, were won by Drusus to the Roman interest, to which they remained steadfastly faithful till the middle of the fourth century A.D., serving as brave soldiers in the wars against the free Germans. Their example was immediately followed by the Frisii, who joined the Romans under similar conditions, but with a tribute added.

Drusus might in fact entertain high hopes, for under his leadership the Roman army with its perfect tactics and armament was in conflict well-nigh irresistible. The Germans, on the other hand, with their lack of defensive weapons, with their *sachs* (the long war-knife of the Low Germans), with the short-handled stone double axes of the Rhenish peoples,

and with their *framea* (a javelin, also serviceable at close quarters, with a small, short, two-edged iron tip), — for the sword and spear only slowly came into use, — and finally with a system of tactics that was highly unserviceable, as it provided only for attack in wedge-shaped formation and established no reserves, were notwithstanding their bravery rarely a match in open battle for the Roman veterans. Their best chances lay in the nature of their country. The extensive primeval forests with their obstructions, the dangerous morasses and swamps, especially north of the Lippe, the bad roads, and the shortness of the summers effectively assisted their defence, and made it possible for them, when the Romans retreated, to choose convenient places for successful attack. Still more important was it that the Germans had no towns as central points, the loss of which could decide the fate of the tribes, and the fresh supplies of warriors from the eastern and central tribes quickly filled the gaps made by the Roman sword.

Before Drusus could cross the Rhine he was obliged to quiet the Celts, who objected to the taking of a new census of Gaul that toward the end of the year B.C. 13 had again been set on foot at Lugdunum. They were pacified with difficulty, not before they had invited in the beginning of the year B.C. 12 the Sugambri and their neighbors to a new inroad into Belgica. Drusus won over the Celtic knighthood and persuaded it, as a proof of its fidelity to the emperor, to erect a sacred monument before the city of Lugdunum. The most prominent men from sixty tribes of the three Gallic provinces appeared at Lugdunum, where they remained for a time, though without a formal announcement, as hostages for the peace of the country. It was determined to build at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saône at the common cost a great altar in honor of Augustus and *Dea Roma*, bearing the names of all the Celtic tribes participating. The colossal statue of the emperor, before which the altar was erected, was surrounded by sixty smaller allegorical figures representing these peoples, and the altar was consecrated with great festivities on August 1, 12 B.C. In the spring of that year Drusus went to the lower Rhine, and the Sugambri quickly retired across the stream. Drusus first pursued them into their country on the lower Lippe, then led his fleet and the army of the Rhine from the islands of the Batavians to the North Sea, took the island of Borkum, and afterward on the Ems overcame the Bructeri. For the examination of the North German coasts, at that time covered with majestic primeval forests, he then led his squadron east to the mouth of the Weser, when the Chauci also became clients of the Romans. In the spring of 11 B.C. he directed the campaign against the Sugambri, with

whom the Cherusci had united. While the army of the Sugambri entered the land of the Chatti, whom Roman diplomacy had estranged from them, Drusus crossed the Rhine at Vetera, crossed the Lippe, and with the hard and constant labor of his engineering force pressed through the country of the Sugambri, entered the territory of the Cherusci, and at last reached the Weser, east of Paderborn.

On the retreat, he was suddenly attacked by powerful masses of German warriors, but succeeded in defeating them at Arbalo. He built near the sources of the Lippe a strong fortress, called Aliso (probably Elsen), about ninety-three miles from the Rhine, afterward connected with Vetera by a military road.

The next campaign was to be a great reconnoissance in force through the interior of Germany to discover the Elbe. Preparations both diplomatic and military were thoroughly made during the year 11 B.C. In preparing for this Drusus enlarged the bridge castle at Mayence into a fortress, *Castellum Mattiacum* (Castel), and to strengthen his basis for the great advance into the interior of Germany, he built on a height of the Taunus the strong fortress of Arctaunum (Saalburg) (Fig. 12). This was opposed by the Chatti, who under the influence of the Sugambri had fallen away

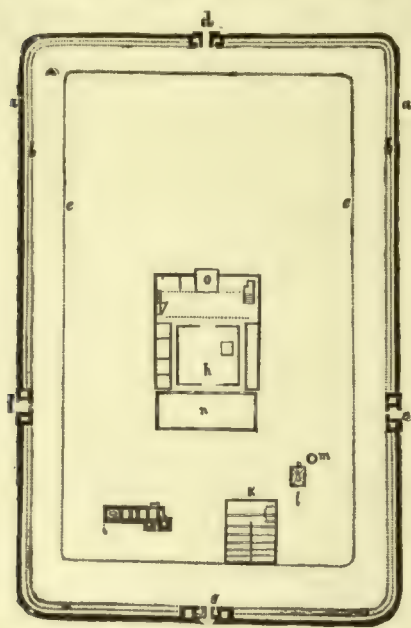


FIG. 12. — Plan of the Roman fortified camp at Saalburg, near Homburg. *a*, outer enclosing wall; *b*, path along the wall, to be used in defence; *c*, broad passageway for large bodies of troops; *d*, main entrance (*Porta Praetoria*); *e*, *Porta principalis dextra*; *f*, *Porta principalis sinistra*; *g*, *Porta decumana*; *h*, residence of the commandant (*Praetorium*); *i*, *k*, remains of buildings; *l*, small temple or shrine; *m*, well; *n*, oblong enclosure, with entering doorways on the three exposed sides; *o*, quadrangular tower, which takes the place of a portal.

from the Romans. Early in 9 B.C. Drusus with much fighting traversed the territory of the Chatti as far as their chief place, Mattium (Maden, near Gudensberg, on the north bank of the Edder), and routed also an army of the Marcomanni, then dwelling near the upper Main, who came to help the Chatti. Drusus then pushed northward against the Cherusci, crossed the Werra, as it seems, and marched probably along a native high-

way through the plain on the northern slope of the Thuringian Forest, along the Saale, to the left bank of the Elbe, on the right bank of which the Semnones and the Langobardi were already uneasy. On the return march, about half way between the Saale and the Rhine, when still one hundred and eighty miles from Mayence, his horse fell upon Drusus, inflicting fatal injuries. The army was obliged to form an intrenched



FIG. 13.—Triumphal Arch of Drusus, on the Appian Way. (From a photograph).

camp, and messengers carried the sorrowful news to Augustus in Italy, who immediately dispatched Tiberius, returning victorious from Illyria, to the north. Drusus died soon after his brother's arrival (September 14) and Tiberius led the army with the body of its general back to Mayence. The ashes of the young hero were taken with imposing funeral ceremonies to Rome, where there was erected in his honor on the Via Appia (at the Porta Appia or the Porta San Sebastiono) a marble triumphal arch (Fig. 13),

while the senate honored him with the title of 'Germanicus,' which was to be borne by his descendants.

The work of Drusus in Germany was completed by Tiberius, who showed great skill in creating a Roman party among the Germans. In 8 B.C. he made a devastating raid into the country of the Sugambri, but found the Germans disheartened and ready to give up the hopeless war. The Sugambri, whose envoys Augustus retained in Lugdunum as prisoners of war, we know not under what frivolous pretext, could not withstand the legions, and Tiberius compelled a part of this people, including more than 40,000 able-bodied men, to migrate to the left bank of the Rhine, between the territories of the Ubii, Menapii, and Batavians. Fifteen years later a part of the Sugambri, the Marsi, between the upper Ruhr and Lippe, played an important part in the history of the wars of these peoples. By 7 B.C. the plan of Augustus in its chief features seemed to be fulfilled, and the German country between the Rhine and the Elbe was regarded as the latest of the Roman conquests.

But for years after little was undertaken in Germany on account of the indignant withdrawal of Tiberius from public life. Augustus had lost his sister in B.C. 11, and in B.C. 8 Maecenas; Tiberius, the only man in his family, who had shown distinguished ability as statesman and general in the most difficult tasks, was highly antipathetic to his stepfather. Augustus, a keen business man, a master of appearances, possessed a sanguine temperament, whose calm serenity, resting largely on unscrupulousness, was but seldom seriously disturbed. With a strong inclination to give himself up to unruffled enjoyment of life, and with an essentially cheerful nature, he shared with the Romans of his time all the popular fancies and favorite amusements. With him a young man like Tiberius had no sympathy, for while Tiberius by his achievements forced a reluctant recognition, yet as a genuine scion of the house of Claudius he exhibited a rugged peculiarity of disposition. The very opposite of the genial Drusus, Tiberius was of a harsh, unapproachable nature, gloomy to the verge of melancholy, a man whose feelings were deep and of a fearfully passionate description. But little adapted to awaken the love of others and never actually loved except by few, he also found it very difficult to feel the impelling force of love for others, yet where he actually did love it was with rare and enduring fidelity. This man, to whose grand and stately form with its imposing military bearing all grace of manner was denied, was with his taciturn, proud or coldly reserved, and angular manner the more displeasing to the emperor because he possessed an astounding keenness of intellect, whose powers of penetration, repelling all flattery,

cruelly destroyed all illusions, though in after years they changed him personally into the terrible, melancholic misanthrope of the older principate. Penetrating with his keen vision the entire policy of Augustus, he recognized with even greater distinctness his tenacious purpose to reserve the succession for the Julian part of the imperial house, and to push his stepson into the background. A breach was inevitable when Tiberius, forced into a very disagreeable position, was most severely wounded in his deepest feelings and his justifiable self-reliance. The empress Livia, who zealously maintained the interests of her son, had after Agrippa's death made a move that had very evil consequences for Tiberius. In order to open the way for him to the supremacy, she prevailed upon Augustus in 11 B.C. to marry Agrippa's widow Julia to Tiberius. For Tiberius, who against his extreme opposition was obliged to divorce his young wife Vipsania, a daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage with the daughter of Pomponius Atticus, whom he loved with passionate affection, and to give his hand to the frivolous, fickle, intellectual, but utterly dissolute daughter of the emperor, the marriage soon became a galling chain. Julia was publicly unfaithful to him, and taunted her husband with his unequal rank. When at last Tiberius found that Augustus was openly educating his adopted grandsons, Caius and Lucius, Julia's sons by Agrippa, to be his successors in the principate, manifestly preferring them to him, he lost his patience, and determined by a decisive step to make the emperor feel that he was indispensable. On his return from Germany in 6 B.C. the emperor conferred upon him the secondary tribunician power for five years, but, in order to withdraw him from the neighborhood of the young Caesars, wished to entrust him with the command in the Orient. To Augustus's great displeasure Tiberius declined the commission, and in its place besought and obtained the privilege of retiring with a small retinue to the island of Rhodes to pursue his studies in quietude. It was indeed an exceedingly bitter experience for the emperor that the most important support of his house should withdraw from his service; for at that time, as the result of the proscriptions and the battles of the last civil war, Rome showed an appalling poverty in men of political and military ability. In the senatorial order there was a growing indifference to public life, and many, who thought that in the Roman state everything was now done by the will of the princeps, showed no special interest in rendering effective the rights that remained to the senate. Nevertheless Tiberius soon found that he had made a grave mistake. It was long before he was again called to great affairs. Meantime there was played in the palace a very lamentable tragedy. The wanton Julia had made use of the absence of her hated

husband to gratify in the most shameless way her sensual nature. It was the crafty Livia, as it seems, who in the summer of 2 B.C. in the baldest and most unsparing manner, brought, or caused to be brought, to the knowledge of the utterly unsuspecting emperor, the secret history of his daughter. The anger of Augustus, so cruelly wounded in his best sensibilities, was terrible, and drove him to the harshest measures. One of the quaestors was obliged to report the accusations against Julia to the assembled senate; he himself sentenced the guilty woman to hard confinement on the desert rock of Pandataria, which only after five years she was allowed to exchange for a somewhat milder duress in Rhegium. Tiberius's marriage with Julia was annulled. Livia had indeed fearfully avenged her son upon Julia, but Tiberius gained from it no subsequent advantage.

While Tiberius was substantially in banishment at Rhodes, young Caius Caesar, the emperor's darling, was winning his first military and political laurels in the Orient. The Armenian king Tigranes III. was dead, and his successor Tigranes IV. again favored the court of Ctesiphon, where the young Parthian king Phraates V. (also called Phraataces) had gained the throne not long after 9 B.C. by the murder of his father Phraates IV. and on his side had adopted a policy of hostility to the Romans. When in the year 6 B.C. Tiberius declined the command in Asia, there was a period of enforced inactivity, while the opponents of Rome in Armenia gained the upper hand of Artavasdes, the Romans' friend. But Caius, who received the extraordinary secondary proconsular imperium and the means to defend the interests of the realm in Asia, left Rome in 1 B.C., accompanied by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (father of the emperor Nero) and Aelius Sejanus. He first undertook a successful campaign against the Nabataeans of Petra in northwestern Arabia, and then prepared to attack the Parthians and Armenians. But on the report of his arrival, Phraates V. showed himself ready to treat, and at a meeting with Caius toward the end of 1 A.D. on an island in the Euphrates, again gave up Armenia. Meantime Artavasdes had died and Tigranes IV. of Armenia fallen in conflicts with a hostile neighboring people, and Caius therefore, at the solicitation of a majority of the Armenians, placed upon the throne Ariobarzanes II. of Atropatene (a son of the old Median Artavasdes), who was followed by his son Artavasdes. Sometime after, however, an insurrection broke out in Armenia, fostered perhaps from Ctesiphon, where Phraates V. had fallen and Orodes II. risen to the throne. Caius was able to repress this in 2 or 3 A.D., but at the siege of the town Artagira he was dangerously wounded in an interview with Adduus, a treacherous Armenian chieftain. The Parthians did not then

again become dangerous. After the custom of his country the cruel Orodes II. found his death by the dagger of prominent conspirators, and the Parthians, between 4 and 6 A.D., requested Augustus to send Vonones I., the oldest of the sons of Phraates IV., then living in Rome, to be their new sovereign. On the other hand, Caius Caesar did not recover from the effects of his wound and died on his way to Rome at Limyra in Lycia, February 21, 4 A.D. His younger brother Lucius had died eighteen months before, in August, 2 A.D., at Massilia, on his journey to enter the Spanish army. The later hatred of the Roman aristocracy to Tiberius spread the report that Livia and Tiberius had a secret part in these deaths. But there is no proof of their guilt, though the early death of the young Caesars did turn to their advantage. Tiberius had then been recalled to Rome, at Livia's earnest request, but was kept out of public business. Augustus now saw himself forced by the needs of the empire and by the wasting of his house to become reconciled with Tiberius. On June 27, 4 A.D., the latter was adopted by the emperor and taken into the Julian family. Immediately before his adoption, although he had by Vipsania a son of sixteen, Drusus, he was obliged to adopt his own nephew Germanicus, the emperor's favorite (born 15 B.C.), son of the elder Drusus and of the niece of Augustus, the 'younger Antonia,' daughter of Octavia and M. Antony, one of the most excellent women of this age. In 5 A.D. Augustus married this richly gifted young man to Agrippa's younger daughter, the proud and beautiful Vipsania Agrippina (Fig. 14),



FIG. 14.— Vipsania Agrippina the Elder. Antique statue. (From a photograph.)

(born in 14 or 13 B.C.), and at the same time with the adoption of Tiberius, he also adopted Agrippa's son, Posthumus, born after his father's death in 12 B.C., whose unbridled violence led to his banishment in the year 7 A.D.

Tiberius was now again to show his talents. During his stay in Rhodes, affairs in Germany, on the Rhine and the Weser, and also on the middle Danube, had assumed a threatening aspect. The Marcomanni, after their overthrow by Drusus, placed at their head a young chieftain Maroboduus (Marbod) who had been trained in the Roman military service and had become acquainted with Roman tactics and discipline, and with the efficiency of a monarchical system of government. In 8 B.C. he persuaded his people to leave their country in southwestern Germany, as it was dominated by the Romans in Mayence and Augsburg, and to migrate to Bohemia, which the Marcomanni had taken from the Boii some fifty years before. Believing that he could withstand the Romans only by meeting them with equal arms, he founded a strong kingdom with its centre at Marobudum, and brought together a powerful army with a much closer organization than that of the Germans, armed and trained to some extent after the Roman manner. By great campaigns beyond Bohemia and Moravia toward the Carpathians and the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe, he gradually united under his supremacy the German peoples as far as the Baltic. Augustus, following the old Roman policy, would endure no strong military power on the borders of the realm. The legate in Illyria, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus,¹ transferred a part of the Hermunduri to the abandoned valley of the Main. Then in 2 B.C. he marched from Vindelicia across southern Germany as far as the middle of the Elbe, and even beyond that river.² In Lower Germany it was different. From 3 A.D. the legate of that province was the distinguished C. Sentius Saturninus, a man of old Roman strength, honor and ability, who understood, as did few Romans, how to enter into the feelings of the free Germans, and how by honest and prudent treatment to win over the inhabitants. After the reconciliation with Tiberius the plan was prepared for the subjection of Marbod, who now had at his command an army of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, which could easily be enlarged by the accession of many thousands from other tribes. Western Germany was first to be thoroughly reduced; if Marbod remained neutral he would lose among the Germans his authority as the champion

¹ Son of Antony's old admiral. He married the daughter of M. Antony and Octavia and became the grandfather of Nero.

² Domitius, when commanding on the Rhine perhaps in 1 B.C., had laid out a practicable road across wide morasses from Vetera to the middle Ems.

of German freedom against Rome, — the result that actually took place. In the summer of 4 A.D. Tiberius appeared on the Rhine as commander, crossed the Weser, forced the eastern Cherusci to enter Rome's clientage, and established his winter quarters at Aliso. In 5 A.D., accompanied by Cherusean auxiliaries, he marched across Lower Germany to the neighborhood of Hamburg, and drove the Langobardi across the Elbe. His fleet also reached the mouth of the Elbe, and a squadron following the coast around the northern point of Jutland displayed the Roman ensigns in the Cattegat. The final attack was now to be made on King Marbod with 150,000 men. From Carnutum as a base, Tiberius, in 6 A.D., crossed the Danube with six legions from Pannonia and Dalmatia, advancing northwesterly against Bohemia and Marbod's capital. At the same time Saturninus set out from Mayence with six Rhenish legions, and, breaking his way with the help of the Hermunduri through the forests along the Main by axe, spade, and torch, was likewise ready to enter Bohemia. The generals expected to meet in five days before Marbod's camp, when the news reached Tiberius that Pannonia and Dalmatia were in revolt.

Since 9 B. C. a vigorous young population had grown up in these provinces, which, oppressed by the administration and the heavy taxes, ventured to rise against Rome. After Tiberius had withdrawn the troops from the country, an attempt of the inhabitants in Dalmatia to prevent the departure of new recruits kindled the insurrection, which spread rapidly through both countries; 200,000 foot and 9000 horse soon stood under arms. The land from Montenegro to the Danube was lost to the Romans, who were able to defend only fortresses like Sirmium. The Illyrian forces prepared to march against Tergeste and Italy. All Italy trembled before the terrible danger. Augustus recognized the fact that his army was not sufficient for the tasks assigned it and was forced to determine to assemble the garrisons from all sides as quickly as possible, and at the same time strained every effort to form new legions. The shortsightedness of King Marbod saved the realm. Tiberius determined upon the humiliation of proposing peace to the 'barbarian' as to a monarch of equal rank, and Marbod yielded to his diplomacy and concluded peace upon equal terms.

Tiberius was now free to proceed against the insurgents, and, hastening south with his army, by the direction of his march frightened the enemy from invading Italy, and made it possible to make a regular and systematic conduct of the war in Dalmatia and Pannonia. But the valor, discipline, and numbers of the rebels made it difficult for the Romans to quell the rebellion, especially as the Pannoniens allied them-

selves with the Dacians and Sarmatians, who by their inroads compelled Caecina and the Thracian auxiliaries to defend the lower Danube. Not till the summer of 7 A.D. was the tactical superiority of Rome restored. Tiberius was at the head of fifteen legions, perhaps 180,000 men, and could send strong divisions against the different tribes. In the summer of 8 A.D. Pannonia first succumbed to the arms of Tiberius. The emperor had indeed been forced to raise the effective strength of the army from eighteen to twenty-six legions, and correspondingly to increase the permanent expenses of the army. Even the succession tax that had been introduced against the bitterest opposition in the pressing need of the year 6 A.D. was continued. But the danger of the war was happily past. Rome breathed free again and rejoiced in the victory of Tiberius and of the favorite of the emperor and the nation, Germanicus. Favorable reports also came from the new German province. The administration of the legate Sentius appeared to be bearing its fruits. The venture was made of gradually withdrawing all the old legions from the Rhine to Pannonia. In 7 A.D. only five legions were on the Rhine border, of which three were newly recruited in the Pannonian war. Saturninus in that year marched to Pannonia with a part of the old troops and with many German auxiliaries, among them Arminius, son of the chief Segimer. Among the Cherusci the old chief Segestes was regarded as the most zealous supporter of the Romans, and his son Segimund was the priest of the worship of Augustus at the altar erected at Cologne. The emperor now ventured to entrust the introduction of Roman provincial administration among the Germans to a legate, a relative of the imperial family, who had no experience in arms, P. Quinctilius Varus. The reports which he sent to Rome were favorable beyond expectation, and in 9 A.D. Tiberius and Germanicus put down the resistance of the Dalmatians, when Pannonia was separated from Dalmatia or 'Illyricum,' and the two parts were independently organized, the former with Poetovio, the latter with Salona, as its capital. Germanicus had brought the news of victory from Dalmatia to Rome in the middle of September. A splendid celebration of the victory was in preparation, but all joy was turned into the wildest terror when five days after his return the fatal message came to the palace: "Varus is dead. The whole army of the Lower Rhine is destroyed in the defiles and swamps of the Teutoburger forest."

Augustus had been overhasty in the organization of the German province, and had made a serious mistake in the choice of his legate. Varus (Fig. 15) had not the qualities that could impress the Germans, and thought of carrying out at once the emperor's commands. With little

knowledge of men, stubborn and self-satisfied, he undertook from his capital Aliso to introduce Roman taxation and Roman jurisdiction among the Germans, whose immemorial usages and legal forms were rudely violated, and who now learned what was the meaning of a Roman province. Nevertheless everything remained quiet, and Varus could write the most assuring despatches to Rome. Affairs went on till the new policy of the Romans, especially the new justice with its liberal use of the death penalty and corporal punishment, had kindled in all households and villages, in all valleys and forest recesses between the Harz and Taunus, between the Ems and Werra, the deepest resentment. Still a leader of authority was wanting who could bring together the warriors and offer battle to the three legions with some chance of success. At last such a man presented himself to the Germans. It was the Cheruscan Arminius, one of the princes who had been trained in the Roman service, born in 17 or 16 B.C. He had just returned from the Pannonian war, rewarded with Roman citizenship and the dignity of knighthood, but now, called upon to decide in a hard moral conflict between his truth as a man to the Romans and his higher duty to his people, he espoused the cause of the national freedom. He was the first leader of these races in whom the enduring instinct of freedom was ennobled into a conscious patriotism and strong sentiment of nationality, and the wild bravery of the German warrior into a thoughtful heroism and actual generalship. He was able to set the masses in motion and to bind them to himself, and to make the Roman discipline serviceable for the Germans, and could match the Romans in cunning.

The previous relation of Arminius to the Romans made it not difficult for him to gain the confidence of Varus, and to lull him into the most complete security. The chieftains put themselves under him when he disclosed his purpose, and soon the Cherusci, the Chatti, the remnants of the Sugambri, the Marsi, the Bructeri, and some smaller tribes formed a close alliance for war. If the complete destruction of the army of Varus was his design, we do not possess any sure knowledge of the details of the way in which he reached his aim, or of the scene of the struggle.¹



FIG. 15. — Varus. Portrait on a copper coin of Achulla, in Byzacene, Africa. (Berlin.)

¹ A view maintained with great energy transfers Aliso to Hamm, the summer camp of Varus to Herford, and places the scene of the Roman overthrow on the clayey soil of the hilly district, then covered with primeval forests, between Stromberg and Beckum, perhaps ten miles north of Hamm. A second and very common view transfers the overthrow of the Romans,

In A.D. 9 Varus pitched his summer camp far within the country of the Cherusci, on the Weser, perhaps in the neighborhood of Minden. As the short German summer drew to an end, a distant tribe began the insurrection. Varus determined to subdue it on the retreat to the Rhine. The German princes were to support him on the march. Arminius had now brought him to the point he wished. In vain was Varus informed by friendly Germans of the condition of affairs. The march began, and as it was through a 'friendly country,' there was no thought of the precautions common in war. The Romans were drawn into mountains, morasses, and forests; the German chiefs withdrew to lead the masses already gathered from all quarters; the Roman divisions scattered over the land were cut to pieces, and then the storm fell upon the legions. On September 9 the attacks began upon the straggling Roman army, which, contending with the road, the unbroken forest, the wind and weather, and hampered by its heavy baggage, could deliver no effective blow, and suffered terrible losses, till it gained a place where it could intrench itself. Varus was a general only in name; none of his staff-officers could supply his lack of skill, and his three legions had no experience in Germany. On the third day of this despairing struggle 'north of the Lippe and east of the Ems' (September 11), it broke up into a series of smaller combats, which everywhere turned against the Romans. Varus and other high officers took their own lives. An army of more than 20,000 men was completely destroyed, though many fugitives escaped to Aliso. The Roman castles in the interior of Germany were no longer tenable; and even Aliso had to be evacuated on account of scarcity of provisions, after a long and valiant defence. The garrison and most of the non-combatants escaped by a night retreat, and were saved by Asprenas with the two legions from the upper Rhine, who marched to their rescue from Vetera.

This terrible news came upon Augustus with crushing force. In Rome a new 'Cimbrian' invasion, with the defection of the Celts and the advance of the Marcomanni, was expected, and every nerve was strained to supply the place of the lost legions and their auxiliaries. But the peoples along the coast of Germany, the Hermunduri and King Marbod took no part in the movement of the Cherusci. Even the victors scattered

who came from the Weser, to the ravine of Dören in the neighborhood of the forests of the Lippe. According to Mommsen's theory, lately proposed, the Romans marched westward from the Weser to the neighborhood of Osnabrück, retreated to the neighborhood of Barenau, and met their destruction in the hills and morasses of this district, perhaps near the morass of Venner.



FIG. 16. — Monument to Manius Caelius,¹ a Roman, who fell in the campaign of Varus. Found in 1633 at Xanten, now at Bonn. (Height four and one-third feet.)

¹ Manius is represented in full military dress, with his decorations: on his head a *corona civica*, a wreath of oak-leaves covering a medallion, bestowed for saving the life of a citizen in battle; about his neck the *torques*; from his shoulders are suspended two large *armillae*. The decorations of a specifically military character are the two lions' heads behind his shoulders, and the five large medallions on his breast, known as *phalerae*. Upon the central one of the *phalerae* is a head of Medusa: on the others, heads crowned with ivy, and a lion's head. All these decorations are fastened by straps to his *euirassae*, or *lorica*. In his hand he holds the vine branch, or *ritis*, sign of his rank as centurion. On his wrists are bracelets. The inscription, with abbreviations given in full, appears to read: Manio CAELIO, Titi Filio, LEMONIA tribu BONONIA, legato LEGIONIS XIX, ANNORUM LIII SEMIS. [CECIDIT BELLO VARIANO OSSA IN] FERRE LICEBIT P. CAELIVS, Titi Filius, LEMONIA tribu FRATER FECIT. At each side of Manius, each on its own pedestal, stand busts of two of his freedmen. The inscriptions are: Manius CAELIVS, Manii Libertus PRIVATVS and Manius CAELIVS, Manii Libertus THIAMINVS. (From Lindenschmidt.)

after a while to their villages and farms. The overthrow of Varus put an end to Roman conquests in Germany. The proud structure of the Roman supremacy in Germany had crumbled. Augustus had no longer the personal elasticity to renew the struggle, and strove merely to maintain the boundary of the Rhine secure. At first he succeeded only in raising two new legions, and for many years from this time the strength of the Roman army did not exceed twenty-five legions, amounting all told to three to four hundred thousand men.

In the spring of A.D. 10 Tiberius, upon whom in the year before the tribunician power for life had been conferred, took the command on the Rhine. The command was then permanently divided into the upper army of Germany, with headquarters at Mayence, and the lower army, with headquarters at Vetera or Cologne. The whole year was spent in the work of strengthening the Rhine boundary, which henceforth was guarded with eight legions. With the help of able subordinate generals like the cavalry officer L. Stertinius, the old A. Caecina Severus, who had been tried in Moesia, and the young C. Silius Caecina, Tiberius tried to restore to this army the old self-confidence. He proceeded with extreme caution, and not till A.D. 11 did he attempt, in connection with Germanicus, a movement upon the right bank of the Rhine. He then began on the right side of the Rhine a *limes*, a line of intrenchments several miles east of the river and parallel with it, strengthened by castles at the intersections of the valleys and roads, that was to turn the right bank into an easily defended borderland. In the period of Domitian the great South German *limes*, south of the Lahn, was joined to this. In the beginning of A.D. 13, after the return of Tiberius to Rome, Germanicus received the sole command in Gaul and on the Rhine. Meantime Augustus's life was drawing to a close. In A.D. 13 he caused the proconsular authority for all the provinces to be conferred by vote of the senate and people upon Tiberius jointly with himself, and in the summer of A.D. 14 completed the general historical review of his government, that is preserved for the most part in the so-called *Monumentum Ancyranum*,¹ one of the most

¹This inscription takes its name from the city in which it was found, Ancyra (now Angora) in ancient Galatia. It belonged to the temple of Augustus in this city, and is cut upon the inner and outer walls. It contains a transcript of the Latin text, with a Greek translation, of the record of the deeds of Augustus (*Index Rerum a se Gestarum*), which, according to Suetonius, Augustus ordered by his will to be inscribed on bronze tablets and placed in front of his mausoleum in Rome. The inscription, which was discovered in 1854 and is nearly complete, the Greek passages supplementing the deficiencies in the Latin text, is one of the most important documents for the history of Augustus. The temple of Augustus at Ancyra was dedicated to the god Augustus and the goddess Rome, and was built in the lifetime of the emperor.—ED.

important sources of his history. Augustus accompanied Tiberius, who was to set out for Illyria from Brundisium, as far as Beneventum, but on the return was taken seriously sick at Nola. Livia hastened to his sick-bed, and recalled Tiberius to the dying emperor, who on August 19, A.D. 14, painlessly passed away. The same moment brought to the peoples of the realm the two messages, that Augustus was removed to the gods, and that Tiberius had taken the reins of government.

CHAPTER II.

THE JULIAN-CLAUDIAN DYNASTY.

(A.D. 14-68.)

THE principate was by no means a hereditary monarchy, though from the beginning it showed a tendency towards succession by inheritance. The republican elements would never recognize that their power was gone, and that the succession as a permanent institution

was necessary for the security of the government. The emperors could legally assure by will to their heirs only their private property and the accompanying fiscus, and were obliged to depend entirely upon the regard in which they were held, to hand over the government to the successor whom they had selected. The wavering between contradictory principles, the continuance of a 'republic with a monarchical head,' a thing inconsistent in itself, and the indefiniteness of the inheritance, invited violence and injustice, and gave to the principate the character of accident. The fault lay with the first emperors, who, from Augustus



FIG. 17. — Tiberius. Antique statue in Rome, Museum Chiaramonti. (From a photograph.)

down, showed a constant mistrust of their prospective successors.

Tiberius (Fig. 17), who was fifty-six years old at the death of Augustus, seized the reins of government; but he well knew that his position was by no means secure, as he was not personally loved, and

had but little sympathy in the senate. The chief question, however, was, how the army would regard the change in the government. Thus temporarily forced to adopt a policy of prudent delay, Tiberius, who was endowed with impenetrable reserve and unusual dissimulation, on meeting the senate, imitated the prudent modesty of Augustus by which he had secured his position at the founding of the principate. The senate, under his influence, first resolved upon the 'consecration' of Augustus, and placed him, like Julius Caesar, among the divinities of the state, and decreed the building of temples to him and the regular worship of him as the first emperor. When the question arose of conferring the sovereign powers upon Tiberius, he appeared for a long time undecided, and only after a long delay yielded to the request of the senate to undertake the burden of the government. He thus seemed to have acquired his imperial position at the wish of the council of the nation.

The soldiers in most of the permanent camps took without delay the oath of allegiance to the new emperor. But at two dangerous points, in Pannonia, in the immediate vicinity of Italy, and in the great Rhine army, mutinies broke out at the news of the death of Augustus. The severity of the discipline, the length of the service, the retention of veterans whose time had expired, the difference of pay between the legions and guard, and the unfair way in which colonies were settled, were the reasons of the discontent. In the last levy among the proletariat at Rome, restless elements had been drafted into the legions, which showed the soldiers their importance to the principate, and persuaded them that now was the time to force concessions from the new emperor. The disturbances in the three Pannonian legions in the camp at Nauportus (Ober-Laibach), ^{were} ~~was~~ quelled without difficulty by



FIG. 18. — Germanicus. Antique statue in Rome, Lateran Museum. (From a photograph.)

the vigor of Drusus, Tiberius's son, in September. The trouble on the lower Rhine was more serious. There, during a temporary absence of Germanicus (Fig. 18), who, with his wife Agrippina,¹ was greatly beloved by the army, a dangerous mutiny broke out. The fifth and twenty-first legions in particular, filled with Romans from the capital, hoped to kindle a civil war that would give them Gaul to plunder, and rewards such as Octavius had given the victors of Actium. They hoped that Germanicus would rebel, and seek with their help to gain the principate; but he had no desire for dominion, was faithful to his adoptive father, and abhorred the thought of abandoning the Rhine border. He was obliged to quiet the troops by consenting to the shortening of the service, by paying immediately the legacies promised to the soldiers in Augustus's will, and by separating the veterans entitled to discharge for immediate dismissal from the service. The defiant vagabonds from the two city legions were massacred in the night by their own comrades, who had returned to obedience.

Tiberius now for the first time felt secure of his supremacy in Rome. One would have thought that he, who had successfully conducted the conquest of the German north, would, as emperor, renew the work. But the result of the first campaigns, his own position in Rome, and his characteristic mistrust of all who might become dangerous to him, led him to adopt a different policy toward the Germans. The leadership of the Rhine army could be given only to a general who enjoyed his unconditional confidence; and Germanicus, though he had displayed his fidelity, filled him with apprehension. For Tiberius could not forget the temper which the Rhine army had betrayed; and he knew that Agrippina did not conceal her pride in her descent from Augustus, her desire for supremacy, and her deep dislike of Livia and himself. He would not trust his personal safety solely to the honor of his nephew, and wished to relieve him of his command on the Rhine as soon as possible; but vengeance must first be taken for the overthrow of Varus. The results of this campaign, however, were such as to convince Tiberius still more definitely that it would be better for the Romans not to prosecute a war of conquest against the Germans.

Germanicus hoped, like Drusus before him, to join again to the empire the lands as far as the Elbe. In October, A.D. 14, after quelling a mutiny of the soldiers, he attacked the Marsi, and in A.D. 15 he gathered all his forces for a campaign, which the internal condition of Germany seemed to

¹ In May, A. D. 14, she had followed her husband to the Rhine, with her little son Caius, who afterward became the emperor, 'Caligula.'

favor. The Cherusei after their victory had divided. The jealousy of Segestes against Arminius, who had carried off and married, with her consent, Segestes's beautiful and high-spirited daughter Thusnelda, had given rise to a bitter feud between the two chiefs and their followers among the Cherusei. Germanicus proposed to destroy first the peoples south and west of the Cherusei, and then to fall upon them. He sent a division under Caccina from Vetera to reoccupy Aliso, and himself from Mayence with the legions of the upper Rhine traversed the land of the Chatti, restored the intrenchments on the Taunus, and delivered Segestes, who was besieged by Arminius in a castle on the high land between the Diemel and the Weser. Segestes had regained possession of the person of his daughter by treachery, and now with his whole household accompanied the Romans to the left bank of the Rhine. The carrying of the German princess Thusnelda into captivity, where her son Thumelcius was born, aroused such anger among the peoples between the Lippe and the Elbe, still further stirred by the fiery words of the bereaved husband, that Arminius was joined by his powerful but jealous uncle Ingomar. Yet Germanicus sought to stem this German tide in the interior of the country. Following his father's example he made the coast the base for his campaign against the interior. The Rhine fleet carried the army of the upper Rhine by water to the Ems, where they met the other troops that had marched under the cavalry commander C. Pedo Albinovanus through Friesland and under Caccina from Vetera across the central part of the country. With over 80,000 men the Romans wasted the whole country of the Bructeri, visited the spot where the unburied bones of Varus's slaughtered soldiers lay bleaching in the sun, buried them, and then attacked Arminius; but here, however, Germanicus was only with difficulty able to hold his own.

During the following winter Germanicus used every means to make good the losses of this campaign. He brought together large numbers of German and Celtic auxiliaries, drew quantities of horses, pack animals, and arms from Gaul, Spain and Italy, and raised the fleet to a thousand sail, to transport the entire army to the Ems. In June, A.D. 16, he reached the Ems, and marched up the river to the neighborhood of Minden on the Weser; he twice met great armies of the Germans under Arminius and Ingomar, and twice defeated them.¹ On the return from this expedition in September the fleet was overtaken off the Frisian islands by a

¹ These battlefields are not definitely identified; the first, the plain Idiotavicus, is commonly sought not far from Minden on the right bank of the Weser, the second near the Lake of Steinhude. Others seek the second, and even both places on the left bank.

great storm, in which many ships were sunk and almost 20,000 men lost. The courage of the Germans was revived by these disasters. In the autumn, however, Germanicus visited the Chatti and Marsi with fire and sword. But the hope that in one more campaign the authority of Rome as far as the Elbe would be restored was not shared by Tiberius, who found the war far too costly, and deemed it undesirable, in case of victory, to maintain an army on the Elbe as well as on the Rhine. Germanicus was obliged to leave his legions in the spring of A.D. 17 and to return to Rome, where he had a brilliant reception, and on May 26 celebrated his magnificent triumph. Now began the period of fighting the Germans with diplomacy and keeping alive their internal quarrels, in which Rome was sure of success.

Returning to the principle of Augustus, Tiberius henceforth strove to maintain the general peace of the realm. An able administrator, he always had the means to keep the defences of the state in good condition and to pay the troops punctually. His diplomacy soon put an end to all dangers from Germany. In A.D. 17 war broke out between Arminius and Marbod, and a fierce battle was fought between the Saale and the upper Elbe. Though it was indecisive, the Marcomanni retreated, and everything beyond the limits of Bohemia fell away from their king; he called on Rome for help, which was refused, and the emperor's son Drusus, who was in command on the Danube, was ordered to hasten the breaking up of the Marcomannic kingdom by diplomatic means. In A.D. 18 Marbod was surprised in his royal residence by a Marcomannic or Gothic chief, Catualda, whom he had earlier driven out. His people fell away from him, and he was forced to flee to Noricum. For eighteen years he lived a pensioner of Rome at Ravenna. Catualda was also driven out in A.D. 20 by a hostile party and forced to flee to the Romans, who sent him to the Gallie Frejus, and at the same time settled his and Marbod's numerous followers beyond the Danube, between the March and Waag or Gran on the borders of the Quadi, giving to them as a prince the Quadian Vannius. Still more gratifying to the Romans was it that Arminius, who was strongly opposed in his attempts to make his authority secure among the Cherusei, met his death in the year A.D. 21 by treachery in some internal feud, while endless quarrels made the Cherusei harmless. Their leading position in Germany passed partly to the Chauci, partly to the Chatti.

A realm as extensive as the Roman could seldom be entirely free from disturbance in the settlement of the newer provinces: such conflicts the legions everywhere easily suppressed. The especially dangerous insurrec-

tion of the Berber tribes from the Lesser Syrtis to Mauretania, begun in A.D. 17 by the Numidian Tacfarinas at the head of the Musulanii, a people on the southern declivity of Mt. Aures, was not completely quelled till A.D. 24. On the other hand, a great insurrection of the Celtic nobility in the country of the Haedui and Sequani under Julius Sacrovir, with ramifications toward the lower Loire and the Moselle, was suppressed without difficulty in A.D. 21 by the legions of Upper Germany under C. Silius.

In the East Tiberius strengthened the Euphrates border by making Cappadocia a province after the death of King Archelaus in A.D. 17, and bringing Commagene with its important passages of the Euphrates under imperial administration. In A.D. 18 the relations with the Parthians were rearranged by Germanicus, who was sent to the East with extensive powers. The friendly Parthian king Vonones had been driven out from Ctesiphon in A.D. 10 by Artabanus III. of Atropatene, — a descendant of a Scythian people, the Dahae, but on his mother's side belonging to the Arsacidae, — and had been unable to defend himself even in Armenia, where Ariobarzanes II. had died. Germanicus by skilful diplomacy and the influence of his personality again secured the interests of Rome. He gave up the incompetent Vonones, but succeeded, with the concurrence of the Armenian people, in placing a trustworthy governor in Artaxata, Zeno or 'Artaxias,' the friendly son of the Pontic king Polemon, and afterward renewed a firm peace with the Parthian king. Not till long after did Artabanus make any hostile movement against Rome, when on the death of Artaxias in A.D. 34 he made his son Arsaces king of Armenia. But then Tiberius sent to Asia L. Vitellius, equally skillful as a soldier and a diplomatist, with powers similar to those of Germanicus before him, and this able Roman not only succeeded in supplanting Arsaces by the Iberian prince Mithradates, brother of King Pharasmanes, but also compelled Artabanus (in A.D. 36–37) to yield entirely, and, withdrawing his claims to Armenia, submissively to make peace with the Romans.

Not less brilliant than the foreign policy of Tiberius was his public administration. In this direction he continued the work of Augustus with great success, in some particulars even considerably surpassing him, so that to his principate belongs in a very high degree the credit of the firm attachment with which the peoples of the realm so long afterward held to Rome. As Tiberius himself was a man of strong sense of duty and equal ability for general and financial administration, so he required the careful performance of their duty from the officials of the realm; no imperator kept trusty legates so long at their posts in

the provinces as he, and but few showed such consistent severity toward extortions and acts of violence. The public safety of Italy and the provinces he watched over with a care equalled by scarcely any after him; his management of the finances was admirable; he was free from avarice, but loved frugality, so that expenditures for personal favorites or for public amusement were avoided as far as possible. He was able to leave behind a treasure of 2700 million sesterces (\$139,000,000), and could spend vast sums when great misfortunes like earthquakes, famines, or disastrous fires caused heavy losses, or when it became necessary to relieve a monetary crisis.

The evils of the reign of Tiberius arose from the unpleasant relations with the people of the capital. The nobility did not see in him, as it did in Augustus, the heir of the great Julius, or the man who, after endless civil wars, had brought back peace and prosperity to the world, but only the son of a patrician house, whose members were in no way superior to other great families. Literature, too, had passed into the hands of the republican opposition, and was hostile to the new ruler from the start. He himself possessed, with his moody temperament and harsh bearing, in spite of his zeal for duty, and other princely traits, none of the qualities that made it easy for Augustus, for Drusus, and for Germanicus to win all hearts. Even among the masses he was not loved; for the city populace demanded from the court the continuance of its pleasures, splendid games in the circus and amphitheatre, and the personal participation of the emperor in them. He favored the continuance of the worship of Augustus in all parts of the realm, but withstood all attempts to establish temples to himself in his lifetime. He put an end to the barbarous practice of executing captive enemies; he had no sympathy for the butchery of gladiators and the merriment of the pantomime, and he withdrew from such things as far as possible.

His ability in government, his regularity and exactness in the administration of law, could not overcome the fixed dislike which vented itself in Rome in demonstrations in favor of Germanicus and his family, and still more in libels and malignant gossip. The result was a half-concealed struggle, which increased the emperor's gloom, made him suspicious of the men of his time, and, as his character grew no milder with age, made him a hard and despotic ruler, while the senate became cowardly, fawning, and fearfully bloody and revengeful as a court of judgment. Tiberius (Fig. 19), like Augustus, adopted a plain and simple mode of conduct, rejecting all excess of external honors; yet

in one important point he departed from the practice of his predecessor, and while he even increased the rights of the senate, he made open use of his authority, and defined its powers sharply and distinctly.

He took completely into his own hands, first the city administration, and then that of the city police. The introduction of a standing police commission, and the appointment of a permanent city prefect, belong to him. The prefect, a position regularly given to an ex-consul, had the command of the city cohorts, and a criminal jurisdiction, which by an arbitrary development essentially superseded the old courts. At first he exercised summary justice against slaves and vagabonds; but the circle of persons and of offences which this court decided without summoning the jurymen, and without publicity, grew so rapidly, that by the end of the second century the city prefecture is the chief court of the capital, from which an appeal could be taken only to the emperor. Still more important was a change then made in the imperial guard. L. Aelius Sejanus, son of a knight from Volsinii, in Etruria, an officer to whom Tiberius gave his unlimited confidence and affection, and whose abilities he prized very highly, had from A.D. 19 the sole command of the praetorians. In A.D. 23 he persuaded the emperor to bring the entire corps to Rome, and to retain them there permanently for the better care of discipline, and for greater security in case of need. There was constructed for the guard, on the northeast side of the city, between the Colline and Viminal gates, an intrenched camp, which formed a strong citadel. The emperors gradually committed to the praetorian prefects as their delegates for Italy the supervision of penal justice.

Finally, Tiberius struck a blow at the remnants of the powers of the comitia, when, in A.D. 14, in his dislike of the commotions at elections, he put the senate in the place of the comitia for the election of praetors. This became the precedent for all the offices filled by the choice of the people. The legislative authority of the comitia was not taken away; but Tiberius made more exclusive use of resolutions of the senate, which were afterward ratified by the comitia. Even when he was estranged from the senate, he brought public and important private questions before it, and particularly increased its jurisdiction.

Little by little Tiberius and the Roman people became estranged.



FIG. 19. — Tiberius.
Copper coin with the
legend: Tiberius
CAESAR · DIVI ·
AVGVSTI FILIVS AV-
GVSTVS IMPERATOR
VIII. (Berlin.)

The death of Germanicus was fateful in its results. After Tiberius's return from Germany, in A.D. 17, though the young princes, Drusus and Germanicus, were close friends, a family quarrel arose between Agrippina on the one side, and the old Livia Augusta and Drusus's wife on the other, which could not be stilled. The emperor, following the practice of Augustus, sent Germanicus to Asia to perform important state business (A.D. 18), who, after its conclusion, made a journey through Egypt (A.D. 19). Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso, the legate in Syria, with brutal insolence annoyed Germanicus and Agrippina in every way, it is impossible to say whether on his own account, or in overdoing the instructions of Tiberius, who certainly did not wish to see the young Caesar become the idol of the Asiatic legions. The rudeness of the conduct of Piso and his wife, when late in the summer of A.D. 19 Germanicus fell sick at Daphne, near Antioch, and the discovery that they had employed magic arts against him, caused Germanicus to banish the legate from Syria. When the young prince died, October 10, A.D. 19, Piso attempted to regain possession of Syria by arms, and so seriously compromised himself that to escape certain condemnation in the process instituted against him before the senate at Rome, he committed suicide. It was never proved that Germanicus died by violence. He most likely died of disease, and it is in the highest degree improbable that Tiberius had any hand in his death. Nevertheless, the Romans never forgave him for the death of his best beloved nephew; for in him they lost not only their favorite, but the one man of the princely house on whom were centred the wishes and hopes of all who were opposed to the new domination. After the news of his death arrived, everything that was done or left undone by the emperor in the matter was turned against him.

The blame for the tragic scenes of the following years falls chiefly upon the prefect of the guard, Sejanus, whose unscrupulous ambition was too long unsuspected by Tiberius. The emperor's son, Drusus, in A.D. 22, received the tribunician power, and was designated as the successor to the throne. He was jealous of the favor in which Sejanus was held by his father, and once in a dispute struck him. Sejanus, whom the unconcealed antipathy of the prince made anxious for his future, determined to put him out of the way and obtain the power for himself. He seduced the beautiful wife of Drusus, Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, and caused a slow poison to be administered to him by the physician of the princess, which caused his death in A.D. 23. The prefect now sought to put out of the way other persons who hindered his plans, in par-

ticular the sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus (born in A.D. 6 and 7), whom Tiberius had warmly recommended to the senate after the death of his son. Their mother, the pure and haughty Agrippina, a high-minded but ambitious woman, was on bad terms with the aged Livia and the emperor, both of whom she suspected as having had part in the death of her husband. Incapable of dissimulation, she counted upon the affection of the Romans and her numerous eminent friends. The wily Sejanus led her on to unmeasured expressions of suspicion against Tiberius, caused a complete rupture between them, and induced the emperor to approve the steps by which he strove to root out her party. The dissoluteness of the great Roman ladies, and the political immorality of the Roman nobles, gave opportunity for a criminal process against many. Against others complaints of high treason were lodged on the ground of the law of *maiestas*, which received a new application in these times. It was a fundamental principle of the republic that an attack upon a Roman magistrate was an attack on the community, and the killing or insulting of an official was treated as high treason. The princeps, through his inviolability as a tribune, could thus deal with offences against his person, whether of speech or conduct, by having them punished as offences against the state. Under Tiberius the theory of treason was extended not only to lampoons and inquiries of soothsayers about the life of the emperor and the future of the imperial family, but even to verbal insults, and made to include as worthy of criminal prosecution (*imminuta maiestas*) any action that might be interpreted as showing lack of respect for the person of the princeps.

Tiberius had these political processes brought before the senate, which through party hatred and servility wished to depart from the ordinary procedure, to apply torture even to freemen, and to purchase slaves for the state court so as to wring confessions from them against their masters, and made these trials for high treason forever infamous. The death penalty was commonly inflicted instead of exile, and was accompanied by the confiscation of the property and the annulling of the wills of the condemned. Suicide to escape these penalties became almost epidemic in Rome; and a class of informers (*delatores*) arose, supported mainly by these cases, which contained persons of all ranks, even senators, attracted by the desire to win the favor of Tiberius, or to gain riches by the rewards to the informers, or by motives of private malice or vulgar jealousy. In the natural tendency of the Romans to raillery and frank speech, the informers easily found opportunities to lodge accusations of *maiestas* against inconvenient persons who could

not be put out of the way by other means. The business was not without its dangers however. False or unsuccessful complaints might bring upon the delatores heavy penalties, even exile or execution; and families that had suffered by their accusations were ready at the earliest opportunity to take revenge.

In A.D. 27 Tiberius (Fig. 20), who had long disliked life in Rome, determined to retire permanently from the city. With a small retinue



FIG. 20. — Tiberius. Antique bust in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)

he retired first to the delightful and secluded island of Capreae (Capri) near Naples, which Augustus had obtained as his private property. This step was most disastrous. Hitherto in criminal matters Tiberius's sense of right and intelligence had not seldom prevented unjust decisions in the criminal processes, but henceforth he received his information only from reports of the senate and of Sejanus. Sejanus had the emperor's ear almost exclusively so that Rome began to regard him as vice-emperor. The trials for high treason became more common, and at last reached the family of Agrippina. After the death of the emperor's mother, Livia, in A.D. 29, Tiberius yielded to the pressure of Sejanus, and, at his command, Agrippina was arrested and sent to the island of Pandataria. Her son Nero was sent to the island of Pontia; and her younger son, the violent Drusus, was

shut up in an underground room in one of the towers of the Palatine citadel. Of the house of Germanicus there remained in the palace only the cruelly neglected and brutalized Caius (born in A.D. 12), who was under the care of his grandmother Antonia.

Sejanus was now at the height of his power. In Rome he received almost equal honors with the emperor, and was consul with him in A.D. 31. Tiberius, however, seems to have become jealous of him, and during the first half of the year issued commands favoring Caius, which showed Sejanus that his victory was by no means secure. With the connivance of influential persons in the guard, in the senate, and at Capri, the bold schemer formed a conspiracy that was to continue him

in power, in case of need, by force, or even by setting aside the emperor. But one of his clients betrayed the secret to Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, who with all haste warned her brother-in-law. The crafty old diplomat thereupon spun an artful web around his opponent, deceived him by tokens of favor that made him delay his plot, and at last secretly appointed Naevius Sertorius Macro, a trusty and determined officer of the guard, as his successor, thus assuring the fall of the favorite. On the night of October 17, A.D. 31, Macro reached Rome, and entered into communication with Memmius Regulus, one of the consuls and an opponent of Sejanus, and with Laco, the trusty chief of the fire-department. In the morning Regulus summoned the senate to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Meantime Macro informed Sejanus that a letter of the emperor was to be read in the senate, conferring the tribunician power upon him, and then hastened to the citadel, where he presented himself to the guard as their new commander, and at once won over the soldiers by large gifts of money, while the senate-house was surrounded by the fire-cohorts. When the long despatch of the emperor, read by Regulus, closed with the command to arrest Sejanus as a traitor, the stupefied man suddenly saw himself deserted by all. The senate on the same day condemned him to death, had him strangled in prison, and his naked body dragged over the 'Gemonian stairs' to the Tiber. His family, friends, the best known supporters, were arrested. His family was judicially murdered under infamous pretexts, while the mob and the praetorians committed the wildest excesses against his followers. The senators who had been his flatterers, to show their loyalty to the emperor, hurled accusations of treason at one another. The emperor had no desire to interfere, for he now learned from the earlier wife of Sejanus the share which he had had in the death of Drusus.

In the bloody and joyless days that followed this catastrophe there were but few Romans that could safely avoid servility and intrigue. It was only natural that the world should long for the end of the reign of the dweller in Capri, who, without joy, without hope, without anything that could rouse him from his gloom, wished never again to see the hated city. The hopes of Rome turned to young Caius, the son of Germanicus, whom the emperor summoned to Capri after the death of Sejanus. He was the last survivor of his family; for his older brother had died in prison, and his mother, Agrippina, had starved herself to death. Men about the court who knew him could, however, entertain but gloomy forebodings for the future of the realm under his govern-



FIG. 21. — The family of the Caesars. Sardonyx cameo. Iulus holding the globe; Julius Caesar in heaven attended by Drusus; Augustus on a Pegasus attended heavenward by Cupid. In the centre Tiberius and Livia enthroned; in front of them Antonia, Germanicus in armor, his wife Agrippina, and the young Caligula; behind the throne the younger Drusus and Julia Livilla. Below, captives from Germany and elsewhere. With one exception, the largest engraved gem known, — 13 inches by 11 inches. Sent to Paris from Constantinople by Baldwin II., the last Latin emperor of Constantinople (1228–1261). (Paris, National Library.)

ment.¹ His education had been wickedly neglected; he was not without intelligence and wit, but incapable of application. The only study he cared for was oratory. He was passionately fond of the theatre,

¹ The nickname Caligula was given him by the Rhine soldiers in his childhood, from the little soldier's boots he wore with the costume of the legionaries.

dancing, singing, gladiatorial combats, chariot races in the circus, and had shattered his constitution in unbridled sensuality. Tiberius, when he saw him, was alarmed at his condition, and set to work to restore the health of his grand-nephew, and in some degree to repair his neglected education. Caius showed himself a master of dissimulation, and implicitly yielded to all the moods and peculiarities of the old man, whom in his heart he abhorred. He sought the favor of the powerful prefect of the guard, Macro, to secure his succession, and obtained it. Two days before the death of Tiberius, Caius was informed, and at once sent messages to the legates and the legions to prepare everything necessary for the transfer of the government. Tiberius died on the sixteenth of March, A.D. 37, aged seventy-eight.

Rome breathed a sigh of relief on hearing the news. The skilful management of Macro, and the enthusiasm of the Romans for the house of Germanicus, determined the senate to confer all imperial powers upon the youthful Caius (Fig. 22). Then began one of the strangest and most fearful episodes in Roman history, which brought out the dangerous deficiencies and the fatal powers in the fabric that had been reared by the first two emperors.

The enthusiasm with which Rome greeted the new emperor seemed justified by the way in which Caius first employed the power that had fallen to him. His pleasure at the greeting with which the Romans received him aroused in him the best determinations; he intended to make the Romans happy. His first acts were intelligent and moderate, especially toward the senate. His generosity toward the people and the soldiers, his piety toward the dead and living members of his house, the putting aside of complaints for *maiestas*, made everywhere a favorable impression. But most of all did he carry all classes with him in his immoderate delight in games of all kinds,—a marked contrast to the frugal parsimony of Tiberius. For eight months he continued thus, when his boundless excesses brought on a dangerous sickness, from which he recovered for the misfortune of the state and

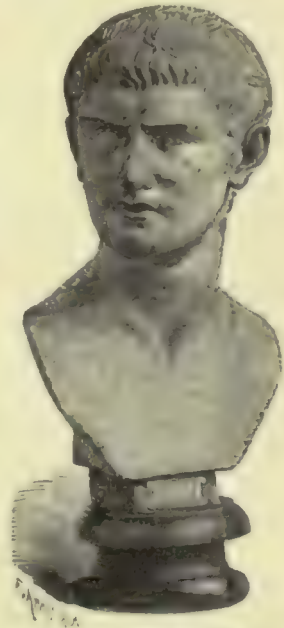


FIG. 22. — Caius, or Caligula. Antique bust in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)

his own reputation. He had lived in a constant mental intoxication. His sickness probably affected his mind, but the mental disturbance that now showed itself was that peculiar form known as the madness of supreme power. A man of moderate gifts, of inferior education, morally and mentally without self-control, he came suddenly into the possession of a power that seemed boundless. The temptation must come at every moment to try in all directions the effect of his absolute power, and it depended solely upon accident whether it was directed to intelligent designs or to acts of cruelty and madness.

In A.D. 38 the change appeared. Caius, whose favorite companions were drivers of chariots and actors, began openly to display his caprices, with no restraint of dignity, and no sense of shame or of common decency. The importunate exhortations to moderation of Macro he answered by forcing him and his wife to commit suicide. In nine or ten months the enormous treasure of Tiberius had been squandered; and as soon as the emperor, who, besides his fondness for games, had a passion for building, felt the scarcity of money, he turned to measures that were cruel and sordid. Criminal accusations were now brought before the emperor's own court, and became frequent, serving to gratify his growing fondness for bloodshed; and to fill his treasury the process for *maiestas* was revived. The money thus obtained was squandered on undertakings that could appear only as insane caprices. For instance, a temporary bridge of boats was built from the mole at Puteoli to a promontory at Baiae; and on it was constructed a solid road, like the Via Appia, with aqueducts and post stations to allow Caius, with his guard on horseback and in chariots, to ride over it in 'triumph,' and celebrate this 'chaining of the ocean.' His conduct of the affairs of state was equally capricious. In A.D. 38 he gave to his friend M. Julius Agrippa ('Herod Agrippa,' born in B.C. 11, grandson of Herod the Great, who died in B.C. 4) the greater part of the possessions of his grandfather, which Augustus and Tiberius had for the most part joined to Syria.¹ On the other hand, in A.D. 40 he summoned to Rome the king of Mauretania, and put him to death for the sake of his wealth.

Of Caius's visit to Gaul in A.D. 39, strange stories are told, such as his triumph after an advance across the Rhine, and his employing an army of 250,000 men, collected in the harbors of the channel for the conquest of Britain, to gather shells on the shore as the spoils of the

¹ In A.D. 41 the emperor Claudius gave Herod Agrippa Judea and Samaria, so that Agrippa as 'king' had under him almost all the possessions of his grandfather.

ocean. But in A.D. 40 he proceeded in Lyons to make money by accusations and condemnations of prominent provincials.

On his return to Rome his conduct became even more violent. He regarded himself as a living divinity, and appeared publicly in the costume of the various gods and goddesses, created a college of priests for himself, and commanded that throughout the provinces he should be worshipped in his own temples. He found opposition only among the devout Jews, who were so enraged when the Syrian legate P. Petronius received orders to place the gilded statue of the emperor in the Holy of Holies of the Temple at Jerusalem, that serious disturbances arose, which were averted only by the sudden death of Caius. In Rome his popularity among the masses sank when he began to lay upon the citizens many burdensome imposts. But his fall resulted immediately from grievous injuries done to officers of his guard, who killed him in a corridor of the palace on January 24, A.D. 41.

Under Caius the principate had been so perverted that it seemed nothing could save the supremacy to the ruling house. It looked for the moment as if the decision over the future of the realm had again fallen to the senate. The murderers of Caius had formed no plan beyond their bloody deed. But when the consuls called the senate to the temple on the Capitoline to take counsel under the protection of the city cohorts that held to them, the senate, instead of quickly naming the ablest member of the nobility as imperator with conditions favorable to the general freedom, and taking in hand the government, entered upon tedious debates over methods of government. When late at night it adjourned without a decision, the freak of fortune, or rather of the imperial guard, had already decided the matter. While the senate wrangled, a troop of praetorians had entered the palace, and discovered hidden behind a curtain the frightened Claudius (Fig. 23), the elderly uncle of Caius, who was known only as a student in the palace and the butt of his nephew's coarse jests. But now the guard saw in him only the brother of Germanicus, the last man of the imperial house, and for the first time tried its power as a controlling element in the state. He was led to the citadel and proclaimed emperor; and, as on the following morning the indecision of the senate continued, Claudius caused the troops to swear allegiance to him, promised each praetorian a present of 15,000 sesterces (\$770), and assured the other troops of presents. Thereupon the city cohorts went over to him; and the senate was forced to ratify the choice, and to confer upon him the imperial powers.

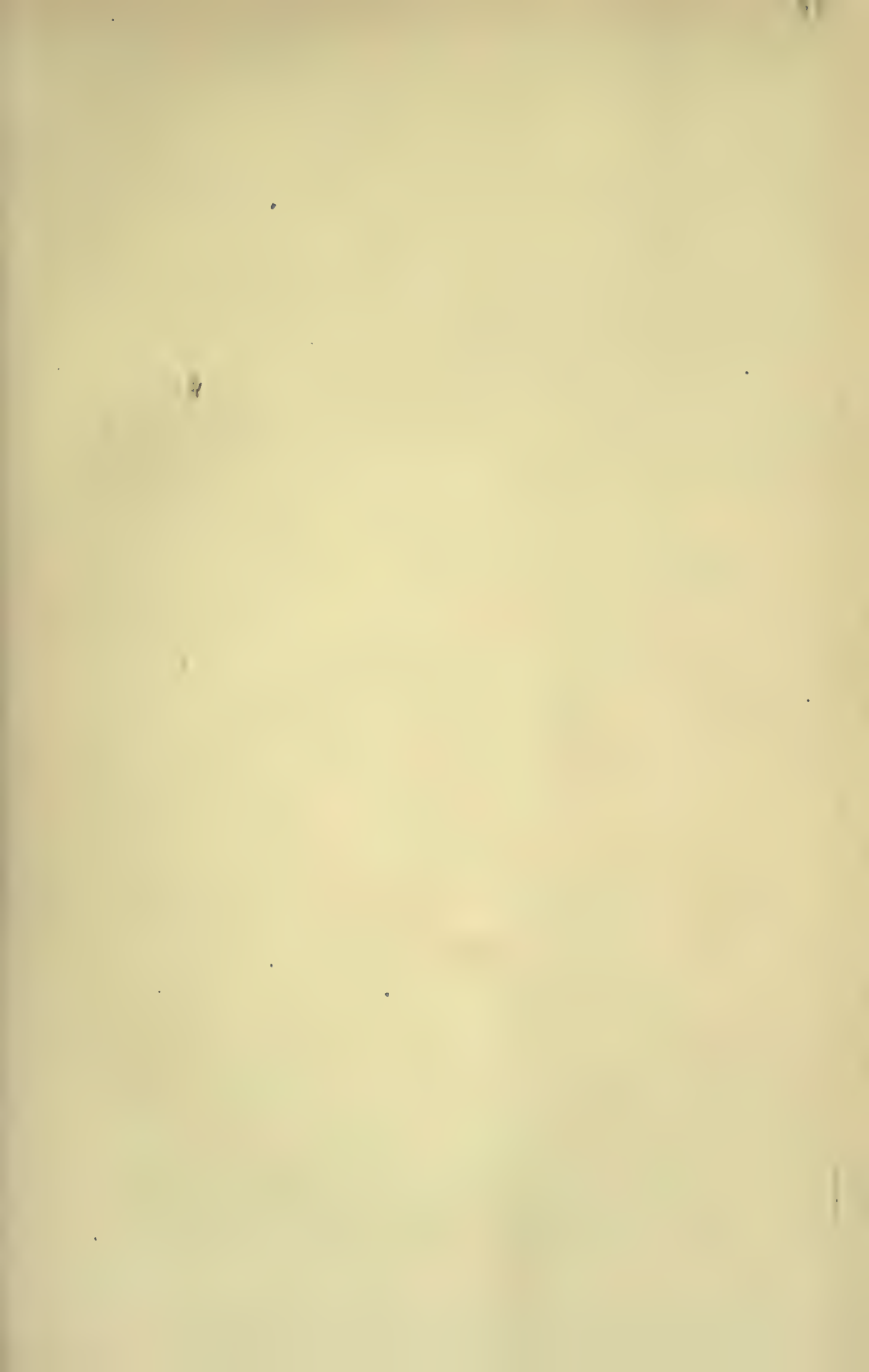
Tiberius Claudius Nero, the son of the elder Drusus and Antonia, was born at Lyons, August 1, B.C. 10. In his youth he was weak and sickly, and grew up timid and childish under the far from affectionate discipline of Augustus and Livia. He was good-natured, but, in spite of his learning, a thoroughly inferior character. Naïve to the verge of simplicity, so thoughtless as to be silly, easily influenced by stronger natures, this child of fifty years was now to administer the inheritance of the Caesars. Everything depended upon who controlled him; and

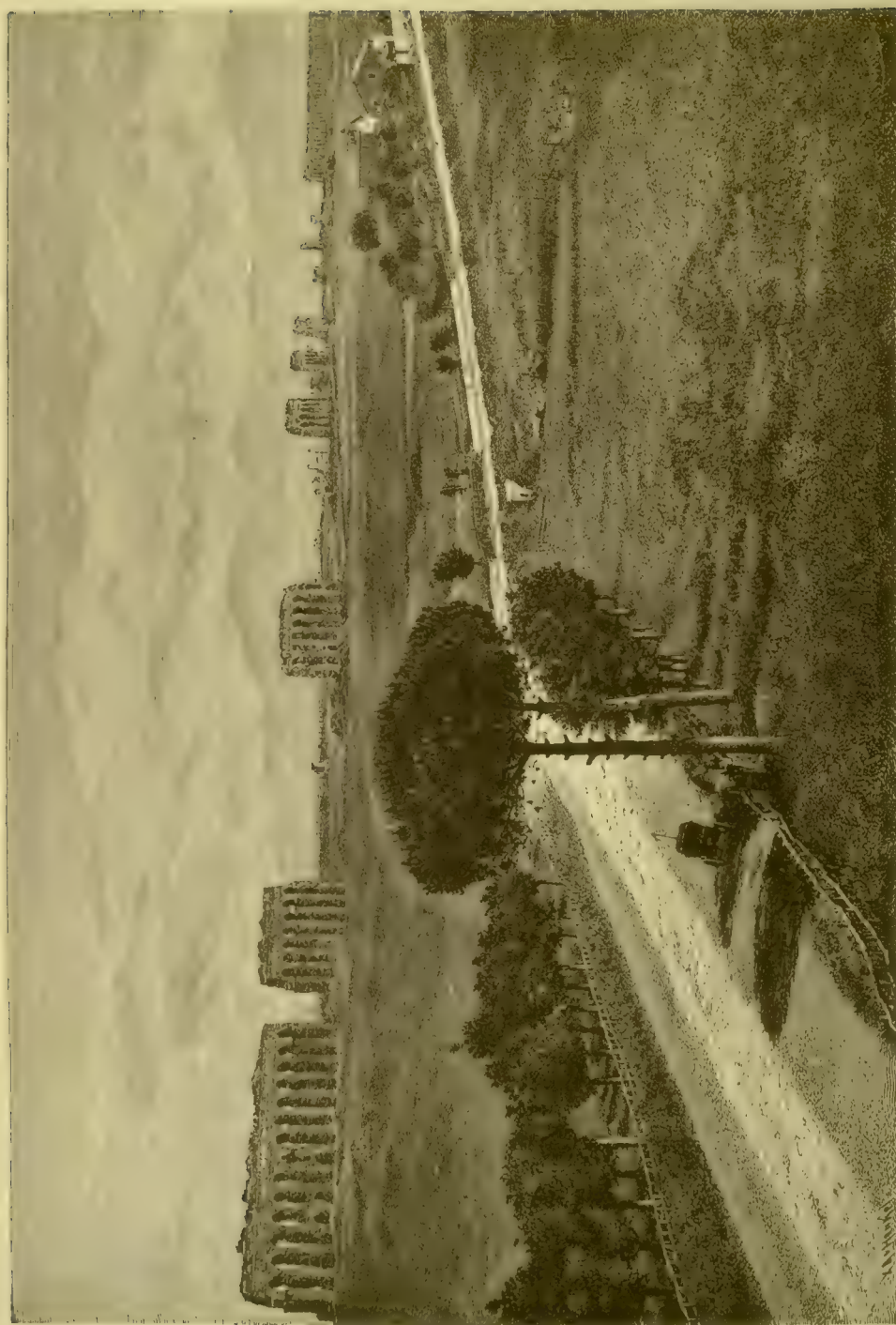


FIG. 23. — Claudius. Antique bust in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)

since Claudius was never able to dispense with the society or the control of women, it was his wife who exerted the decisive influence. The two women who ruled him in succession were, unfortunately, absolutely bad. The name of Valeria Messalina, his wife at the time of his accession, has remained for all time as the designation of the utter moral abandonment of women. In her licentiousness she far surpassed even Augustus's daughter, Julia, and to this she added cruelty and greed. Notwithstanding her constant conjugal infidelity, her power remained unshaken as long as she kept on good terms with the powerful Greek freed-

men,—the ministers of her imperial husband, who held the great court offices, and by their talents had become of great importance in the state,—Pallas, the minister of finance, and Narcissus, the private secretary of the emperor. The servile majority of the senate had no hesitation in loading down these men with presents and marks of honor, to influence through them the emperor. To gratify their greed Roman citizenship and immunities, privileges and monopolies, high offices, and even judicial ordinances, were sold for money. It was not difficult for them and the empress completely to hoodwink the emperor and to lead him on to cruel injustice. As fear made him





Ruins of a Roman Aqueduct in the Campagna. (From a photograph.)

lose all discretion, he was repeatedly made anxious for his life by an ostentatious display of care for his safety, and then persuaded to permit outrageous sentences of death.

Yet Claudius (Figs. 24, 25) did intelligent and important service to the state. His advisers were prudent men, who knew that their personal fate was closely bound with that of the ruler, and that their position depended entirely on his popularity. Where their personal interests were not involved, they furthered his benevolent plans, and the many magnificent works that he undertook for the prosperity and honor of the realm. Claudius began his rule by showing moderation and mildness, executing only those guilty of the murder of Caius, and pardoning those condemned and exiled by his predecessors, putting an end to the accusations for *maiestas*, and in every way striving to atone for the grossest outrages of his predecessor. His strong sense of duty made him take a personal part in the government, after the model of Augustus, with astounding zeal, and to meddle in the less important civil law cases, where he exposed himself to the contempt of the lawyers. To the senate, again copying Augustus, he left a very extensive activity; the number of public and private ordinances made during his reign was unusually great. To secure the regular provisioning of the capital, he constructed, in A.D. 42-46, a great harbor for the city, *Portus Romanus*, or *Portus Augusti*, on the right bank of the right mouth of the Tiber (*Fiumicino*). He built two new colossal aqueducts, completed in A.D. 52, *Aqua Claudia* and *Anio Novus*, which supplied the highest points of the city with fresh water (PLATE IV.). Another great work was the *emissarium*, opened in A.D. 52, to prevent the dangerous overflows of Lake Fucinus by draining it into the Liris, a canal nine feet wide, from ten to fifteen feet deep, and cut mostly through rock for a length of 4500 feet. In A.D. 47 and 48 he took a census, which showed that the number of Roman citizens, in consequence of the free extension of citizenship to the army, and to whole communities of provincials whom Claudius especially favored, had risen from 4,937,000, in A.D. 14, to 5,984,072, corresponding to a population of 25,000,000. To recruit the senate Claudius went outside of Italy. The senate already contained Romans from Spain, Africa, *Narbonensis*, and other provinces; but the preference with which



FIG. 24. — Gold coin of Claudius. The triumphal arch, inscribed *DE GERMANIS*, is probably the one dedicated to his father Drusus, if not the one to his brother Germanicus, after the latter's famous triumph, A.D. 17. (Berlin.)

Claudius regarded Gaul, the land of his birth, determined him, in A.D. 48, to confer upon the decuriones of the cities of the Haedui the *ius honorum*, the right to hold offices in Rome, which made them eligible to a seat and a vote in the senate. Thus the union of the dominant race in Italy with its subjects, and the blending of their interests, kept pace with the extension of citizenship; and the admission of able

provincials brought to the senate elements of freshness and vigor. Like Tiberius, Claudius strove with energy to protect the provincials from the venality and extortions of the governors; while he prosecuted the Druids of Gaul, whom he suspected as political agitators.

Messalina, having made enemies of the emperor's ministers, brought her fate upon her own head. She so shamelessly conducted her amour with the powerful Caius Silius, whom she publicly married, that Narcissus, who clearly saw that her next step must be to put the emperor out of the way by violence, boldly interfered, and in October, A.D. 48, secured the execution of the adulteress. Pallas now formed the plan of marrying the emperor to his beautiful niece Agrippina (Fig. 26), the daughter of Germanicus, born at Cologne in A.D. 15. She had been the wife of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and had borne to him a son, Lucius Domitius, and, now the widow of a second husband, wished to gain by this marriage the supremacy for herself and her son. Persistent, calculating, with masculine determination, and the



FIG. 25. — The Emperor Claudius.
Ancient statue in the Vatican.
(From a photograph.)

ability to hold patiently in check her passions and vindictiveness, Agrippina, completely indifferent to any ideas of honor, was unscrupulous in the choice of means to gratify her ambitions, and by her beauty and arts could be irresistibly fascinating. In A.D. 49 she married Claudius, and was honored by the senate with the title of 'Augusta.' Stern, imperious, full of untamed pride, she held the reins of government beside Claudius, and in his place, with firmness and

skill, and took her place as co-regent, even in the great public acts of state. Step by step she accomplished her chief object, the pushing aside of Messalina's son, Britannicus, and secured the succession for her son Domitius. She began by winning over Pallas and other men of high position. L. Annaeus Seneca (born in B.C. 4), son of the rhetorician M. Annaeus Seneca of Corduba, the most brilliant name among the writers of this age, a man of great gifts and fine taste, had been quaestor and member of the senate under Caius, but as the result of a court intrigue had been banished to Corsica. Agrippina secured



FIG. 26. — The Empress Agrippina. Antique statue in Naples, National Museum. (From a photograph.)

his recall, and made him the tutor of her intelligent but wayward son, whom she caused to be betrothed to Octavia, the emperor's elder daughter, and to be adopted by Claudius, in A.D. 50, as 'Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.' In A.D. 51 he was intrusted with the secondary proconsular authority for the whole realm, and in the early part of A.D. 53 married to Octavia. Toward the end of A.D. 51 the empress succeeded in placing Afranius Burrus, a distinguished officer with an excellent reputation, at the head of the praetorians.

One opponent only, the powerful minister Narcissus, Agrippina was not able to overcome; and when she saw that he, in spite of his

part in Messalina's fall, meant to secure to Britannicus his inheritance, she determined, as she was not sure of Claudius, to remove the old emperor. She seized the occasion of the absence of Narcissus from the city on account of illness to obtain the services of a mixer of poisons under arrest for her crimes, and, after gaining over the emperor's physician, and the 'taster' of his food, to poison Claudius on October 12, A.D. 54, with a dish of mushrooms. Agrippina held back the announcement of his death till noon of the following day, when Nero was introduced by the prefect Burrus to the cohort on guard in the castle as the new emperor. He then went to the citadel, where he cleared the way

by the promise to give the praetorians the same present that Claudius had done before. Nero (Fig. 27) was proclaimed imperator by the guard, and led before the assembled senate, which without delay conferred upon him all imperial rights and titles.



FIG. 27. — Nero. Antique bust in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)

Agrippina now made claim to full power as co-regent, and, not content with lavish honors, interfered in the conduct of business, and strove to keep her son in complete dependence. Neither the growing self-importance of the young emperor, nor the ambition of Burrus and Seneca, who now appear as Nero's ministers, could adapt themselves to the relation which Agrippina wished to establish. Immediately after the death of Claudius she had Narcissus and other enemies of hers murdered; and when Seneca and Burrus op-

posed such a reign of terror, a struggle began in the palace between these statesmen and the empress and her favorite Pallas, for the control of the government, which was decided in their favor, as they held together, and succeeded in winning the young emperor to their side. Nero, superficial and pleasure-loving, was at first little inclined to take up the heavy burden of his station, and left for a long time the conduct of his business entirely to his ministers. They on their side put no hindrance in the way of his following his favorite pleasures; but besides his artistic tastes, and the craving to appear in public as a charioteer, a singer, an actor, and above all as a poet,—and here he

had considerable talent, — he early displayed an inordinate desire for sensual pleasures, that in the end shrank from no crime however horrible.

The first five years of Nero's government are among the best in the history of the Roman empire. The degeneracy of the emperor was displayed exclusively within the palace, without disturbing public affairs. The systems of provincial administration, of military affairs, and of foreign policy were so well established that the conduct of the Roman state was no less vigorous and successful under Nero than under Tiberius and Claudius. Seneca and Burrus with great dexterity kept in harmony with the senate, managed the business of the government with fidelity, judgment, and success, and obtained for all their measures the ready consent of Nero, who showed discretion and even benevolence.

The reign of Nero, however, like that of Claudius, was not marked by any great successes obtained by the army. In suppressing an insurrection of the mountain tribes of Mauretania in A.D. 42, the victorious Romans had crossed the Atlas, and two important provinces were formed, Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana. Claudius decided to carry out the plan of the great Julius, and by the subjugation of the British peoples to bring the restless Celts of Gaul with their Druids into complete control. After restoring the 'British' fleet, which henceforth had its station in the harbors of southern Britain, the legate Aulus Plautius, in A.D. 43, led across the channel an army of four legions, three from the Rhine and one from Pannonia, swelled by auxiliaries to almost 70,000 men. He landed probably in Sussex, and pressed forward to the Thames, where the emperor himself joined the army. After crossing the Thames, he defeated the British under Togodumnus and Caractacus (Caradoc), sons of the lately deceased king Cunobellinus (Cymbeline), and captured their stronghold Camulodunum (Colchester), which was settled by a colony of Roman veterans, and became the capital of the new Roman province, whose northern boundary was a line running through Bath (Aquæ Solis), London (Londinium), and Colchester. Plautius remained in Britain till A.D. 47, and advanced to the west, probably to the tin and lead mines of the Mendip Hills in northern Somersetshire. The flat country on the east, perhaps to the Humber, also came into the power of the Romans.

His successor, P. Ostorius Scapula, was employed for five years in reducing the brave chief Caractacus, who had roused to arms the war-

like peoples inhabiting the mountain fastnesses of Wales, the Silures in the south, and the Ordovices in the north, against whom the Romans built the fortified camps of Viroconium (Wroxeter), Isca (Caerleon), and Deva (Chester). Ostorius advanced against Wales from Glevum (Gloucester), and after a series of engagements gained a final victory in A.D. 51, when Caractacus was surrendered to the Romans; but Wales was not yet annexed. The province of Britain was rapidly and energetically Romanized. A network of roads was constructed. London became a prominent trading-mart, with the custom-house for wares imported from the continent and a station of the fleet. But unfortunately here, as in Gaul, the oppression of Italian merchants and capitalists was soon felt. Thousands of such merchants with their families settled in Camulodunum and the marts of Londinium and Verulamium, introducing the wares of Italian and Gallic trade to the British Celts, and bringing into commerce the treasures in lead and tin of the new province. The harshness of the military conscriptions, the oppressions of the tax-farmers and capitalists, were grievously felt in a land that was still poor. The princes, nobles, and communities of the British were plunged into debt, and the animosity which resulted was actively fomented by the Druids upon the island of Mona (Anglesey).

Suetonius Paullinus, a brave, gifted, and enterprising officer, took command in Britain in A.D. 59. To curb the national and religious resistance in the west, he determined, in A.D. 61, to make an attack upon the island of Mona, whither the bulk of the Druids had retired. With the fourteenth legion and a division of cavalry he forced the passage of the Menai Strait, crushed the fanatical resistance of his opponents, who were supported by crowds of women, and rooted out Druidism from the island. But in his absence a great insurrection broke out on the east coast, due to the shameful barbarity and rapacity of the Roman procurator. The priests fanned the flame; and the queen of the Iceni, Boudicca (Boadicea), a woman of noble spirit, who had personal injuries to revenge, put herself at the head of the insurrection. The Iceni were joined by the Trinobantes, and the united Celts threw themselves upon Camulodunum, where in their fury against everything that was Roman, they committed frightful atrocities, sparing neither age nor sex. The number of the insurgents soon rose to 120,000, and in Verulamium and Londinium not less than 70,000 Latin-speaking persons were put to death. With great energy and daring Suetonius, with only 10,000 soldiers, threw himself upon the insurgents, and in a bloody battle near Camulodunum utterly broke their power.

It was the good fortune of the emperor Claudius in the year A.D. 50, by a campaign against the Chatti on the middle Rhine, to set free several aged Romans, who had been prisoners there since the defeat of Varus, but on the eastern boundary of the realm his success was not so marked as in Britain. Armenia, since the overthrow of the great Tigranes, had for the most part acknowledged the suzerainty of Rome. But soon after the death of Claudius the Parthian king, Vologases I., overran Armenia, and established his brother Tiridates on the throne. Cn. Domitius Corbulo, an officer who had distinguished himself against the Germans, was at once sent to the East with full military powers. At first he abstained from active operations, and busied himself with restoring discipline to the legions in Syria, which, recruited in the Greek provinces, were badly demoralized. When at last it appeared that the Parthians were not inclined to active hostilities, Corbulo, induced by the difficulties of the Parthians on their northeast boundary, and reinforced by a legion from Germany, began in the summer of A.D. 58 the war in Armenia with perhaps 30,000 men, to which were added the auxiliaries from Iberia and Commagene. Tiridates could make no head against the Romans, and in A.D. 59 the scale turned decisively against him. After a defeat at Artaxata he fled to the Parthians, giving up his capital, which in A.D. 60 was burned by the Romans, who also captured Tigranocerta, and again repelled an attack of Tiridates. They placed a new king in Armenia, Tigranes, a descendant of Herod the Great of Judea, who had been brought up in Rome. Corbulo as legate received command of Syria also. But when in A.D. 61 Tigranes made a successful inroad into Adiabene a great war between Parthians and Romans seemed imminent. Contrary, however, to all expectations, Vologases entered into a compact with Corbulo, resulting, as it would appear, in the evacuation of Armenia by both Parthian and Roman troops, in the dethronement of Tigranes, and the recognition of Tiridates as a Roman vassal. The peace was not acceptable in Rome, and the ex-consul, L. Caesennius Pactus, who in the summer of A.D. 61 had been sent as a new governor to Cappadocia, undertook to bring Armenia immediately under Roman administration. He occupied the western part of the country, and wintered in it, but in the spring of A.D. 62, owing to his incapacity, he was defeated by the Parthian king. Instead of stubbornly holding out for the relief which Corbulo was bringing to him, he was induced to a capitulation, and so secured a shameful retreat for his men and evacuated Armenia.

The Romans at once prepared to wipe out this disgrace, and Corbulo again received command of the Roman forces in the Orient, strengthened

by one legion from Pannonia, and also received for the duration of the war a higher imperium, though it would appear that in A.D. 63 the civil administration in Syria was given to the legate C. Cestius Gallus. Corbulo at once formed a strong army of four of the best legions,¹ to which were added picked divisions from the Illyrian and Egyptian legions, a strong force of cavalry, the necessary auxiliaries, and the contingents of Syrian vassals. In the summer of A.D. 63 he crossed the Euphrates at Melitene, and while pressing hard the Armenian nobility, conducted his operations so skilfully and successfully that Tiridates was reduced without a battle, and forced to conclude a firm peace. At Rhandia he was obliged before the legions to lay down his diadem at the foot of Nero's statue. Corbulo again evacuated Armenia, and Tiridates, in pursuance of an agreement, went to Rome, where Nero gave him a splendid reception and with great display conferred upon him the crown of Armenia, — a measure that brought about a long peace between the Romans and the Parthians.

Under Nero Roman literature took a new impulse, presenting in particular two considerations worthy of attention. On the one hand, the Romanizing of the West showed its effects in the rise of authors born in Gaul and Spain, who were beginning to supplement the waning vigor of Italy by the permanent addition of important talent. On the other hand, after the decay of the classic 'Golden Age,' literature entered upon the 'Silver Age,' which extended to the accession of the Emperor Hadrian. It is the period during which the rhetoric of the schools placed its peculiar mark upon the great majority of the products of literature; henceforth to the times of the Ostrogoths and the Byzantines the ancient world demanded a formal rhetorical training of every one who would pass for a man of culture, or would advance in the service of the state, the army, or the community. It was the art of fine expression, the art of dextrous speech and writing, that was now sought. This rhetorical training of the Roman youth produced its unavoidable effect upon the literary taste. The old classic models with their severity, dignity, and grand simplicity retired into the background; the pleasure in the simple, genuine, and natural expression of thought and feeling was gradually lost. In its place came the striving under all circumstances for interesting and ingenious writing, which, in the case of many, degenerated into verbal artifice and straining for effect. Forced expressions, uncommon, piquant, and surprising or poetic turns, far-fetched images and thoughts, seeming contradictions, plays on words, exaggerations, and excess of color characterized this style,

¹ The commander of the third legion from A.D. 64 to A.D. 70 was T. Fulvus (Fulvius) Aurelius, grandfather of the later emperor Antoninus Pius.

while at the same time provincialisms and vulgarisms made their importance manifest even for the written speech. This is variously noticeable according to the varied characters of the writers, but everywhere is seen the care for manner, and for pathos, in place of quiet strength. In general, only the jurists and various technical writers kept themselves free from such artifice.

Independently of the encyclopedic writers, of geographers, of several orators and grammarians, whose names only are known to us, the rhetorical feature of this period appears with especial clearness in the writings of the few historians whose works remain to us, and who were partly also rhetoricians. Velleius Paterculus was a talented dilettante, who from A.D. 4 to 12 had served as an officer under Tiberius in Germany and on the Danube, and afterward studied rhetoric at Rome. In A.D. 30 he published in two books his celebrated sketch of Roman history, which ends with an enthusiastic description of the achievements of Tiberius. The tendency to praise becomes the undisguised servility of the collection of historical "Anecdotes," published in A.D. 29-32 by the rhetorician Valerius Maximus, and preserved to us in nine books. From the time of Claudius we have the "History of Alexander the Great" by the rhetorician Q. Curtius Rufus. In the time of Nero the progress of literature in its new direction was unmistakable, especially in the domain of poetry, which was also marked by rhetoric and declamation, and in which, notwithstanding the formal skill and the attention to the system of versification established in the age of Augustus, the sense of proportion was evidently diminishing. The preference of the emperor Nero for poetry, and his own example, were the occasion for active production in all the branches of poetry. The so-called 'recitations' in particular were greatly developed. The characteristic representatives of belles-lettres of this period are Lucan for the historical epic, Persius for satire, Seneca for tragedy, and Petronius for the delineation of society.

M. Annaeus Lucanus (A.D. 39-65) the nephew of Seneca, the most celebrated epic poet of his time, and the only one whose works remain to us, was a young man of decided talent for vigorous realistic description, and a strong imagination. In the only one of his many writings that has come to us, the "Pharsalia," he describes the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Owing to his early death, his talents did not reach maturity, and consequently the unfavorable qualities of the rhetorical poetry of the time, at least the decided preponderance of declamation, characterize his work, in which poetic opposition to Caesarism and reverence for Cato reached their highest point. The six satires of A. Persius Flaccus of Vola-

terrae (A.D. 34-62) are merely declamations, characterized by the severity of youth toward the degeneracy of his times. They have slight poetic talent, and are written in obscure and ambiguous language. Seneca, as a tragic poet, took the materials of his tragedies from the Greek mythology and heroic legends. He has great talent for form, but the rhetorical element preponderates. Action and development of motive are neglected, drawing of character is wanting, and the invention is lacking in taste. The most spirited and important poetic work of this period is the collection of satirical tales of society of Petronius Arbiter, a mixture of prose and poetry in the finest form of the 'Menippean' satire, which have come to us only in fragments. They are grossly immoral, but give us an insight into the life of the people, especially in the Greek cities of Southern Italy.

The most brilliant light of prose literature was Seneca, although there is a deep gulf between his practice and the high ideal pictured in his writings. Starting with the Stoic philosophy, in his moral demands and in his deeply human perceptions he went far beyond the morality of the Stoa and that of the ancient world, and formulated precepts which only at a later time were put into practice through Christianity. His style is undoubtedly clear and lively. His writings are rich in interesting thoughts and striking turns, in fulness and delicacy of observation, in wealth of knowledge without pedantry. All the resources of the rhetoric of his time were at his command. His short, abrupt sentences and pronounced mannerism found vigorous opponents in the next generation. He was brilliant rather than thorough and original, and with him phrases often took the place of real feeling.

In A.D. 55 Nero, whose relations to his wife were very distant, fell in love with Acte, a Greek freedwoman of great beauty and amiability, and even thought of marrying her. Agrippina thus became estranged from her son; and he was led to deprive her ally, the minister of finance, Pallas, of his office. His place was filled by an able financier and freedman, Claudius Etruscus, who was wise enough not to mix in the intrigues of the court, and maintained his position till after A.D. 84 in Domitian's reign. When the empress, in her deep indignation, began to threaten, and openly declared that she would espouse the rights of Britannicus, Nero answered with his first deed of blood. He caused poison to be given to his step-brother at the table; the unhappy prince died in February, A.D. 55. When Nero, with his weak moral sense, saw how easily the Romans from state interests forgave him for the

murder, and how Seneca himself did not hesitate to palliate the deed, he came to feel that as master of the world everything was allowable to him, and that for him even the murder of his brother was no crime. For a time Nero gave occasion for remark only by his wanton excesses, which he indulged in with dissolute friends. It was a woman by whose influence he was finally led into his career of crime. In B.C. 58 his love for Acte gave way to the passion which he conceived for Poppaea Sabina, a woman of dazzling beauty and rich mental gifts, who was the wife of his friend Otho and is described by tradition as an utterly worthless person. The equal of Agrippina in ambition, violence, and cruelty, her superior in heartlessness, she was just the woman to destroy in Nero what was still to be destroyed. The passion of the emperor for Poppaea was to be the means which was to raise her to power. Only as empress would she be his. Otho was sent as governor to Lusitania; and a bitter struggle began between Poppaea and Agrippina, who had become reconciled to her son, for the mastery over Nero. Poppaea must first undermine the position of the empress if she would succeed in overthrowing Octavia, the chief obstacle to her ambitions. Agrippina was worsted, and Nero at last was persuaded that she was planning his destruction. He therefore determined to have his mother put to death. By trickery he enticed her to Baiae; and there, in March A.D. 59, she was barbarously murdered by the admiral. Affairs were so arranged that, with the guilty connivance of Seneca and Burrus, it appeared that Agrippina had perished in an unsuccessful attempt to kill her son; so the deep dislike for the dreaded empress, which made Rome ready to ascribe any violence to her, caused credence to be given to the report which Seneca made to the senate, which decreed thanksgivings for the 'saving' of the emperor.

Nero himself sought to stupefy his conscience by a life of mad enjoyment. The restrictions which Agrippina had hitherto put on him out of respect to Roman proprieties and princely decency disappeared. With the death of Burrus in the beginning of A.D. 62, the last bulwark fell which withstood his wild career. The more influential of the two new prefects of the guard, Sofonius Tigellinus, was a man of vile character, of no less evil influence over the emperor than Poppaea. Seneca retired into the quiet of private life, and the fall of the unhappy Octavia soon followed. A false accusation of adultery was brought against her; she was banished to Pandataria, and was there murdered.

Hand in hand with the moral indifference with which Nero un-

hesitatingly put out of the way everything that seemed to him or his worthless counsellors troublesome or dangerous, went the increasing tendency to wanton festivals and wild extravagances of every kind. Only the rabble was pleased when Nero, first in the Greek Naples, and then in Rome, appeared upon the public stage as an actor, and that, too, in a female part, and as a singer, and also as a charioteer in the Circus Maximus. He provided for the people public banquets, festal games, and everything that the fancy could desire, surpassing all his predecessors in the splendor of his games. The luxury of his court naturally influenced all classes, and the luxury of the table, the expenditures of the rich in travel, the wanton life at the villas (Fig. 28)

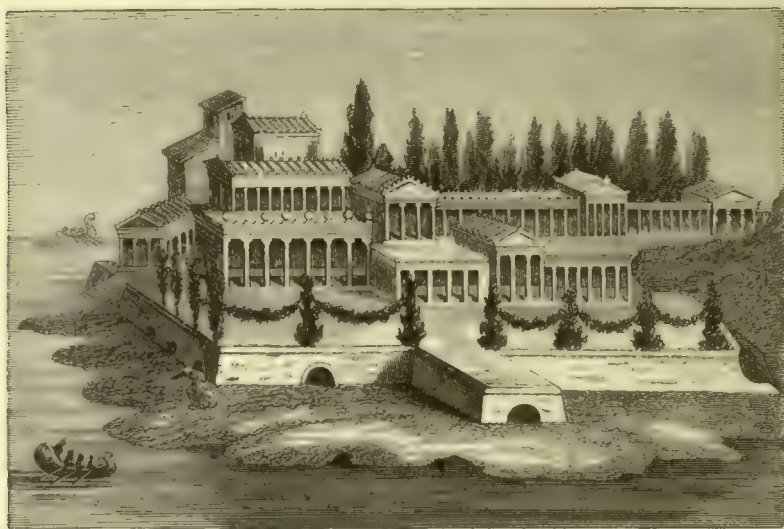


FIG. 28. — Roman villa on the sea-shore. Pompeian wall-painting. (From Duruy.)

and at baths like Baiae or Sinuessa, went beyond anything known, even in the last days of the Republic.

On the anniversary of the burning of Rome by the Gauls, in a July night of A.D. 64, there broke out in Rome, near the Circus Maximus, among wooden warehouses mostly filled with oil, a terrible fire, which, aided by the dryness of the season and by a strong wind, raged for ten nights and nine days, destroying all before it. The entire heart of ancient Rome, except the Capitol, was blotted out. Of the fourteen regions of the city, only four on the outskirts remained wholly unharmed. Of the others, three, from the Circus to the southern slope of the Esquiline, lay in ashes; and the rest had all suffered. The loss in

life and property was extraordinary. The immediate need of the people was terrible, and Nero made the discovery that the great misfortune was laid directly to him. He is probably to be acquitted of this crime; for no proof of it can be drawn from the traditional accounts, and it is in itself improbable. Still, the rumors did not cease, though the emperor, who was at Antium at the time the fire broke out, used every means on his arrival to check the fire, and after it was extinguished, with earnestness and judgment took all possible means to relieve the need of the population.¹ The emperor's measures for rebuilding the city were excellent. Two competent architects prepared for him a comprehensive plan by which the capital was to become one of the most beautiful cities in the world, and one of the safest against fire. The reconstruction was pushed with great energy and rapidity. Those ready to build were assisted by the state. Yet in this Nero looked out for his personal interests, and seized a considerable part of the territory from the Palatine to the heights of the Caelian and the Esquiline, to lay out a new and magnificent palace, known as his 'Golden House,' and a splendid park.

The expenditures for these buildings must have been very great. Undertaken with Nero's customary extravagance, they ruined the finances, which, till the death of Burrus, had been in good condition. Though the state might rejoice in general prosperity, the way in which Nero threw away money in building, in public amusements, in the wantonness of his private life, in gambling, in spendthrift whims, and as an art enthusiast, together with the greed of the powerful officials of the court and the ministers, could not but waste the treasure gathered by Claudius, and make it very difficult for the ministers of finance to balance the expenditures and receipts.² Little by little neither skilful administration of the finances, nor draining the fiscal domains, including Egypt and the gold mines, could furnish enough; the extensive confiscations in connection with the increasing executions were not sufficient. For his Roman buildings, therefore, Nero adopted the expedient of demanding extraordinary contributions from Italy and the realm, which in form were free gifts. Achaia and Asia were

¹ What motives led him, after an investigation of the police, to fasten the guilt upon the little Christian community in Rome, are unexplained and doubtful; but it is certain that, according to the Roman practice, he turned the hideous execution of these persons into a spectacle for the enjoyment of the mob.

² The sums of money spent in this reign on friends and supporters alone are reckoned at 2,200,000,000 sesterces, or \$114,000,000, while the expense of the sojourn of the Armenian king Tiridates in the realm is put at more than \$20,000,000.

heavily drawn upon to supply out of their treasures of works of art new adornment for Rome.

Far more disastrous was the debasement of the silver coinage, which till Nero's time had kept its value, like the gold. Down to A.D. 60 the imperial mints had issued the gold and silver coins at their full weights. The first impulse to the debasement was given by the increasing outflow of silver to eastern Asia. Chinese goods, especially silks, and Indian wares, dyestuffs, spices, and sweet odors of every kind, were so generally sought, that the trade in them, according to Pliny, annually took out of the realm in silver about 100,000,000 sesterces, or \$5,190,000. Since in exchange only Italian wines were taken, the stream of silver flowing to the East was as good as lost forever. In A.D. 60 the plan was proposed in Rome of putting limits to this outflow by depreciating the coinage of the denarius while its nominal value was retained. The object was not attained; but the silver coinage was debased, and from this time the principate had at hand for times of monetary distress a means of supply as alluring as it was dangerous. The straitened condition of the finances under Nero after the burning of Rome first resulted in turning the silver money, in opposition to gold, into the small change of the Roman world, as at an earlier time had been done with copper.

The opposition to this style of government was long restricted to the aristocratic circle at Rome and its supporters. After Burrus's death and Seneca's retirement the senate made no movement against the court. Persons of moral purity and high honor, like P. Fannius Thræsea Paetus of Patavium, his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, and many of their friends, both male and female, were usually adherents of the Stoa, whose ideals lay in the past, and represented only a moral opposition, whose existence was, however, unpleasant to the emperor and his wild court. But there was formed in Rome another group, that desired to put down Nero, and give another head to the state. Nobles of high position, discontented officers of the guard, officials, persons who, like Lucan, had fallen out with Nero on personal grounds, formed a plan, in A.D. 65, to raise Caius Calpurnius Piso, one of the old nobility, to the principate. The discovery of this conspiracy let loose the bloodthirstiness of the emperor, of Tigellinus, and of Poppæa. Among the many condemned to death as undoubtedly guilty, and executed, or forced to commit suicide, was the aged Seneca, who was compelled to kill himself, the greatest part of his property, estimated at 300,000,000 sesterces (\$15,564,000), being confiscated.

From now on the execution of suspected persons, or of those whose presence was merely uncomfortable, became more frequent, and were often accompanied by confiscation. Later, in A.D. 65, to the general joy, the Empress Poppaea died, killed, as was said, by a brutal act of Nero in a moment of mad passion. She received, however, an apotheosis. In A.D. 66 the emperor's gifted but dissolute friend, Petronius, was forced to suicide by the intrigues of Tigellinus; and, during the visit of Tiridates, distinguished men like Thræsea Paetus were removed in a similar way. The rising against Nero that was actually successful did not proceed from the city. In the latter half of A.D. 66 Nero, with a large following of courtiers, troops of the guard, and flatterers, passed the Adriatic into Achaia, that by appearing in all the national and local Greek games as charioteer, singer, and actor he might carry off the trophies that he loved. While the prefect of the guard, Numpidius Sabinus, and his trusty freedman, Helius, kept order in Rome, Achaia became the scene of a life of intoxicating pleasure, accompanied by robberies of works of art, and debauchery and bloodshed. Domitius Corbulo, suspected on we know not what grounds, was summoned to the imperial presence, and, on his arrival in Greece, was forced to kill himself. The Greeks, however, were as well satisfied with Nero as he with them. In return for their enthusiastic applause and their marks of honor, Nero declared Achaia 'free,' so that henceforth it had to pay no more state taxes, and, in A.D. 67, began to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth.

In Syria, King Agrippa had died in A.D. 44, and his son, Herod Agrippa II., had received only part of his father's dominions north-east of Judea, while the Jews in Palestine were governed directly by Roman procurators. The national aversion to foreigners, united with the stubborn adherence to its religion characteristic of the people, made the fanatical Pharisees, who controlled the powerful Scribes, gain ground over the more temperate Sadducees. The Roman procurators, angered at the defiance and obstinacy of the people, came to administer their office harshly, and exacted the heavy taxes relentlessly. There was among the Jews the party of the 'Zealots,' bent on breaking away from the Romans at any cost. This party had a large following among the country people, and could count upon the robbers in the mountains. Long before the outbreak safety to trade had ceased, while in the capital the 'sicarii' plied their daggers against the soldiers and those who favored Rome. The storm broke in August, A.D. 66, in the procuratorship of Gessius Florus. The rivalry between

Jews and Gentiles for the control of the administration of Caesarea, the residence of the procurators, was decided by Tigellinus against the Jews, and led to a massacre of them, and at the same time there was an insurrection in Jerusalem. Eleazer, the ruler of the temple, and son of the high-priest Ananias, joined the Zealots, and refused to offer in the outer court of the temple the sacrifice for the emperor, customary since the time of Augustus. King Agrippa sent troops to Jerusalem at the request of the moderate party, when the sicarii and armed Zealots streamed into the city, compelled the troops of Agrippa to retire, and the weak Roman garrisons in the castles to surrender, putting them and the leaders of the moderate party to death.

A race war was now kindled in southern Syria, marked in all the cities between Damascus, Tyre, and Ascalon by massacres, in which thousands of the weaker party, Hellenic or Jewish, as the case might be, were murdered. Even in Alexandria the soldiers fell upon the Jews. In October the Syrian legate, Cestius Gallus, with 20,000 Roman troops and 13,000 from the dependent states, failed to capture Jerusalem; and Judea, including Idumea and Galilee, with its 3,000,000 inhabitants, was for the time lost to the empire.

Nero, on hearing the news, at once appointed to conduct the war against the Jews one of the ablest officers of the empire, who had been tried in Britain, — Titus Flavius Vespasianus (Fig. 29). Born November 18, A.D. 9, near the Sabine Reate, the son of a revenue farmer and banker, he had shown capacity as an official and as a soldier. Under Caius and Claudius, when the favor of Narcissus stood him in good stead, his foresight enabled him to steer safely through the political dangers; and he had accompanied Nero on his journey to Greece. It never occurred to the emperor, in giving him the command, that this plebeian could become politically dangerous at the head of a great army. Vespasian collected at Ptolemais an army composed of three Roman legions, and troops stationed in Palestine and soldiers of the client states, in all perhaps 50,000 men. Among his staff-officers were his son, Titus (born in Rome, December 30, A.D. 40 or 41), and the legates Cerealis and Trajanus, father of the later emperor. When, as the Romans advanced eastward from Ptolemais, the Jews scattered before them, in May Vespasian besieged the fortress of Jotapata, in which was a body of troops commanded by the governor of Galilee, the young Pharisee, Josephus. The town was captured in a night attack after a siege of forty-seven days, in which 40,000 Jews fell. Only two prisoners were taken, one of them

Josephus; and step by step the fortresses in Galilee and along the coast as far as Ascalon were captured. Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, party strife was working the destruction of the Jewish nation. Eleazer, Simon's son, established a reign of terror, overthrew the government of the Pharisees, imprisoned and murdered his opponents of the moderate party, and intrenched himself in the Temple, where he was blockaded by the moderate party, and called for help upon the Idumeans, who had been proselytes to Judaism for one hundred and fifty years. They entered the city with 20,000 men, rescued the



FIG. 29. — Vespasian. Antique bust in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)

Zealots, and killed 12,000 of their opponents, while Vespasian looked on at this self-destruction, and slowly encompassed Jerusalem on all sides. With the capture of Jericho, in A.D. 68, all Judea, save the capital, was subdued. But the outbreak of a revolution in Gaul, Spain, and Rome caused a long delay in the final struggle.

It did not escape Helius, Nero's representative in Rome, that such a movement was on foot. Nevertheless the emperor did not return to Italy till the beginning of A.D. 68, and then only that with his 1800 crowns of victory won in the Olympic and other great games he might play out his

part in Naples and Rome. Nero was again in Naples, when, on March 19, exactly ten years after the murder of his mother, the message of a great insurrection in Gaul reached him. At that time the imperial legate of Gallia Lugdunensis was C. Julius Vindex, a descendant of an Aquitanian family, which had recently become Romanized and been rewarded with Roman citizenship, and a genuine representative of the mixture of Roman and Gallic civilization, ways of thought, and interests, then current in southern Gaul. Like many men of the class that had first become Romanized, he was a supporter of republican ideas, and, believing that the time had come to overthrow the utterly degenerate rule of the Caesars, he thought that he had the strength to do it. He imparted his determination to several of the governors of the western provinces, and in March, A.D. 68, called upon his countrymen to renounce obedience to the emperor and to swear fidelity to the Roman senate and people. The Celts far and wide, incited by the Druids, embittered by the pressure of taxes, or simply from the love of adventure and of change, followed his lead, but Lugdunum with the Rhine country held aloof. Vienne became the centre of the insurrection. Part of Narbonensis, with the Arverni, Haedui, and Sequani, joined Vindex, who was able to bring into the field more than 100,000 Gallic soldiers. The critical question now was, what the other legates with their legions would do. The first to assist Vindex was Servius Sulpicius Galba (born December 24, A.D. 5), the governor of the North Spanish province at Tarraco, a man of the most ancient nobility, who in a long and brilliant career had distinguished himself as an officer and a governor, by his generalship, strict discipline, vigorous administration, and economy. His hesitation at the first proposals of Vindex had aroused suspicions in Rome, and Galba believed that he had certain information that Nero had sent orders to have him murdered. He accordingly renounced his allegiance to the emperor, and after the example of Vindex called upon his troops to swear to the senate and the people, but found that while they were opposed to Nero, they did not object to the principate, and so saluted him as Augustus. Galba held to the plans of Vindex, however, and found support from Otho in Lusitania, and from the governors of Baetica and Africa.

The rising of Vindex did not disturb Nero, but when Galba's defection followed he became greatly alarmed, and plainly lost his judgment. He wavered between the most diverse projects. Without the power to change his well-deserved fate or to meet it with manly fortitude, he cowered before the presence of anxiety and of distressing reports, and gave up in panic, at the very moment when, contrary to all expectations,

the Gallic insurrection suddenly collapsed, and Galba too held back in mortal fear. To Vindex and Galba the position taken by the great Rhine army, commanded by Fonteius Capito in Cologne and on the Upper Rhine by the high-minded L. Verginius Rufus, was all-important. Verginius with 30,000 men hastened to put down the Gallic insurrection, and attacked Vesontio (Besançon) the chief town of the Sequani. Vindex, who had besieged Lyons, thereupon marched north with a strong force and at Vesontio held a long conference with Verginius. The soldiers of the Rhine army, who were full of suspicion and strongly opposed to the Celtic movement, became convinced that the commanders were coming to an understanding, and took matters into their own hands by attacking the Celts. In the 'soldiers' battle' that followed, the army of Vindex was completely destroyed. Vindex in despair committed suicide, and Galba would have been lost had it not been for the refusal of Verginius to accept the imperium when saluted as Augustus by his soldiers. Compromised by his conference with Vindex, and urged by Galba, he now declared for the supremacy of the senate, to which was left to decide who the new ruler should be.

Nero was lost. The entire west from Africa to the Rhine fell from him, and the troops at his command in Italy, available for a conflict, were far inferior in numbers to the legions of the West. In Rome the senate hoped to regain its old authority and to overthrow the emperor, with whom even the masses were displeased. There had been a scarcity, and the fact that a ship from Egypt had brought not corn, as was hoped, but sand for the emperor's athletes, made the people furious. But it was the act of a bold officer that took the decision from the hands of the emperor and the senate.

Everything depended upon the attitude of the guard. Tigellinus, however, was completely overcome, and his colleague, Numpidius Sabinus, who gave himself out as a son of Caligula, directly intrigued against Nero. He wished to prevent the senate from proclaiming the republic, hoping either to gain the chief position under the new emperor or to secure the supremacy for himself, and used the plan of the despairing Nero to fly to Alexandria for his destruction. He persuaded Nero to retire to the Servilian gardens, near the Tiber, on the road to Ostia, then, rousing the fury of the guard by the report that Nero had abandoned them and Rome, he hurried them on to declare for Galba, and in his name promised to every man the unheard-of donation of 30,000 sesterces (§1555). The moment the guard proclaimed Galba emperor, the senate silently gave up its dreams of a republic and without opposition recognized the Spanish legate

as emperor. Meanwhile Nero, deserted by all, thought only of flight on the coming of the night. He did not know that the vindictive senate had at once proscribed him as the enemy of his country and condemned him to death. With a few trusty slaves and freedmen he escaped in the darkness of night to the villa of his freedman Phaon, four miles northeast of the city, only to find the troopers of the guard already before the door. Then, on June 9, A.D. 68, with the help of his freedman Epaphroditus he thrust a dagger into his throat. The Julian-Claudian dynasty was at an end.

PART II.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM GALBA TO MARCUS AURELIUS.

(A.D. 69-161.)

CHAPTER III.

THE YEAR OF THE FOUR EMPERORS.

(A.D. 68-69.)

ROME accepted the proclamation of Galba as emperor without opposition. Galba (Fig. 30) now seized the reins of government, and set out from Spain for Italy in July, A.D. 68. Contrary to all expectation, he soon showed that his political talents were of inferior order, and his character sordid; lacking in personal magnetism, unable to win opponents or arouse the enthusiasm of friends, a cold and dry man of business, and stern soldier, he began in Spain by rewarding those who had aided him, and punishing those who had held to Nero, or had hesitated in recognizing the new order of things. In Gaul he distributed rewards to the districts which had shared in Vindex's revolt, and punished Lyons and the other opponents of the insurrection with confiscation and other penalties. The Rhine legions, which felt insulted by this action, became bitterly hostile when he removed Verginius from the command of the upper Rhine, though at the danger of his life he had secured his army for Galba. The legions of the Danube, however, and those in Syria, gave in their adhesion without delay.

At the end of September the new emperor appeared before the city. He was met at the Milvian Bridge by marine soldiers, who had been formed into a legion by Nero, with the request that they might be enrolled among the regular troops. His reply was evasive: the disturbance that followed was ended by a charge of his cavalry. This aroused disaffection among the soldiers. In many ways Galba showed

himself incapable of dealing with the difficulties of his situation. He was nothing but a soldier seeking the best interests of the state, and striving to do justice and to atone for the worst misdeeds of his predecessor, but lacking in skill to control affairs, and in the necessary knowledge of men. He gave himself into the hands of unworthy favorites, who discredited him; and he showed an unseasonable parsimony towards the troops. It was, indeed, impossible to pay the sums



FIG. 30. — The Emperor Galba. Antique bust in Naples, National Museum.
(From a photograph.)

which had been promised in his name to the guard and the legions, but Galba did absolutely nothing to win them over.

It was probably with the purpose of making the Rhine army harmless against himself, that he named incompetent officers to its command. In September, 68, he appointed, as commander in lower Germany, Aulus Vitellius, a notorious glutton of the grossest sort, and politically incompetent. His inclination to the table, in spite of the

many lucrative posts he had held, had plunged him so deeply into debt that he escaped from his creditors in Rome with difficulty, and had trouble in raising the money for his journey to Cologne, where he arrived in November, A.D. 68. He found the troops discontented at their own treatment and at that of the neighboring Celtic peoples, who had been punished for their opposition to Vindex. The legions longed for a civil war and the easy rewards it would bring them, especially the plundering of Gaul. For them Vitellius, with his indolent good nature, with his liking for coarse humor, and his readiness to dispense with discipline, was the ideal emperor. On January 1, A.D. 69, the legions in Mayence began the insurrection against Galba, and in a few days the seven legions of the Rhine army had declared for Vitellius 'Germanicus.'

On the report of the defection of the legions in Mayence, Galba thought to strengthen his position by adopting a young and able co-regent, but instead of selecting M. Salvius Otho, who had hitherto given him the strongest support, he decided upon Piso Licinianus, a man of much better character; but notwithstanding the suggestions of the officers, on presenting Piso to the praetorians, January 10, A.D. 69, he refused to give the soldiers even a small present. Thereupon Otho, from the desire for power, and to escape from his debts, determined to try for the crown. Popular with the masses as an earlier comrade of Nero, and with the soldiers, especially the guard, for his personal affability and liberality, he found no difficulty in setting on foot among the soldiers a plot for the overthrow of Galba. On January 15, Otho was greeted in the citadel as emperor by the praetorians and the marine legion. Galba was sought out and cut down in the Forum, while Piso was killed before the Temple of Vesta, whither he had fled. Otho (Fig. 31) was recognized as emperor by the senate without opposition. Born in A.D. 32, at Ferentinum, of an Etruscan family, he was naturally mistrusted by the better element in Rome; but he surprised every one by his behavior as princeps. The man who in Nero's time was known as a luxurious weakling, took up his new duties with ardor and skill, and showed both mildness and discretion; there was no thought of violence or of revenge on earlier opponents. He was considerate to the senate, and attached eminent men to his interests. The decay of discipline he was able to check only with difficulty and very incompletely. The praetorians were, indeed, enthusiastically devoted to him, but they had now become aware, through his fault, of their own importance, and made use of it in giving way at any moment to dan-

gerous excesses. This laxity of discipline, to which Vitellius also contributed in Gaul, became during the war a cause of great danger. The legions on the Danube, and the governors of the Orient, recognized Otho as emperor; but the Rhine army would not give up the emperor of its choice or its wish for civil war, and Britain also declared for Vitellius. When all preparations were completed, Vitellius left a number of divisions on the Rhine as a nucleus for the formation of new border legions. The active army moved southward through east-



FIG. 31. — The Emperor Otho, Vatican. (From a photograph.)

ern Gaul, marking its way by a broad trail of devastation and bloodshed; and in March, A.D. 69, the advanced division, under Fabius Valens and Allienus Caecina, stood on the soil of Italy. In preparing his defence Otho showed judgment and vigor. He had under his command the guard and garrison of the city and the legionaries who at Galba's death were at Rome. He proposed to hold the line of the Po till the arrival of the seven legions from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia, which would make his numbers equal to those of Vitellius.

But the spirit of insubordination among the troops, and their distrust of the generals, counteracted his exertions. It was fatal for Otho that he had not the military talent to command in person, and that his capable corps commanders were jealous of one another. Otho began by trying to defend Placentia. Caecina made an attempt to storm this town, but was repulsed, and retreated to Cremona, while the Othonians occupied Bedriacum, between Cremona and Verona, where they were joined by Otho's remaining troops and by Otho himself, and by the Dalmatian and Pannonian legions. After a repulse of the Vitellians, Otho's chances were far from poor; and Paullinus, his general, had every reason to delay a general engagement till the Moesian legions should reach Italy. Otho and his soldiers, however, pressed for a decisive battle; but, on the advice of his generals, he made the mistake of absenting himself. The fight went against him; but his cause was far from lost, the courage of his troops was unbroken, and the Moesian legions had already arrived at Aquileia, when in despair, on April 16, A.D. 69, he put an end to his life by stabbing himself.

So Vitellius (Fig. 32), whom the senate at once acknowledged, became sole ruler. The new emperor showed in general a kindly disposition. Paullinus and other leaders received full amnesty, though a number of Otho's officers were condemned to death. The Danubian legions were sent back to their quarters, and the imperial guard was disbanded.

Personally Vitellius was neither cruel nor rapacious, and in his conduct he displayed a certain moderation. But only disaster resulted from his gluttony, which was beyond anything known; from his stupid indolence, and his indifference to the higher interests of the state, to the conduct of those about him, and to the rapacity of his officers; and from the violence of his soldiers, and the laxity of discipline.

The victorious army gradually approached the Tiber through Central Italy. The war seemed at an end. From Syria came the approval of the legates there. The emperor reached Rome not long before July 18, A.D. 69. His bearing toward the senate was respectful, and among the people he was popular. But his indolence soon made him give up all business to Valens and Caecina, who were constantly intriguing against each other; and to gratify his appetite, in the few months of



FIG. 32. — Vitellius. Bronze coin inscribed Aulus VITELLIVS GERMANICVS IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS Pontifex Maximus TRIBVNICIA POTES-tate. (From Imhoof-Blumer.)

his reign he devoured, in delicacies for the table and in drink. 900,000,000 sesterces (\$46,690,500). Disbanding the old imperial guard and the city cohorts, Vitellius formed the new guard (of sixteen cohorts) and the garrison of the city out of his legionaries. This withdrew some 20,000 of the best troops from service. The rest of the army suffered from dissipation and from the climate. Soon a war began on the lower Rhine, and at the same time a revolution against Vitellius broke out among the soldiers in Illyricum and Syria.

The legions of the Orient were indignant that in the repeated elevation of emperors their army had been left out of account. They could not help comparing Vitellius with Vespasian as a man and a general. The governor of Syria, Mucianus, whose ambition was to be the chief counsellor of the new emperor, tried to persuade Vespasian to rise against Vitellius. They soon came to an understanding; and Vespasian was proclaimed imperator in Alexandria, July 1, A.D. 69, a day that was afterward regarded as the birthday of the new principate. On the third the troops in Palestine hailed Vespasian as Imperator Caesar Augustus; while Mucianus took for him the oath of allegiance of his army, and spread the report that Vitellius intended to transfer the Rhine army to Syria, and the Syrian legions to the rough valley of the Rhine. By July 15 Vespasian was recognized from the Nile to the Taurus. The entire Orient fell in with the movement; and vassal princes, and even the Parthian king Vologeses, offered their services. The generals held a great council of war at Berytus. The fortresses of Emmaus and Jericho were held against the Jews, who were merely watched by Titus. Vespasian went to Egypt to secure at all hazard the export of corn, and thus to exercise a pressure upon Rome; and Mucianus began the march by land through Asia and Illyricum to Italy.

The Moesian legions declared for Vespasian at once. They were soon joined by the Pannonian and Dalmatian legions, which were still bitter against Vitellius; and letters were sent to Gaul, Britain, and Spain to incite the legions there to revolt. But matters were not left here. In a council of war held at Poetovio by the Illyrian generals, it was decided to make a sudden attack upon Italy without waiting for Mucianus, who was hastening with his legions; and in the fall of A.D. 69 Antonius Primus crossed the Julian Alps, pressed on to the Adige, and made his headquarters at Verona, followed more slowly by the other generals.

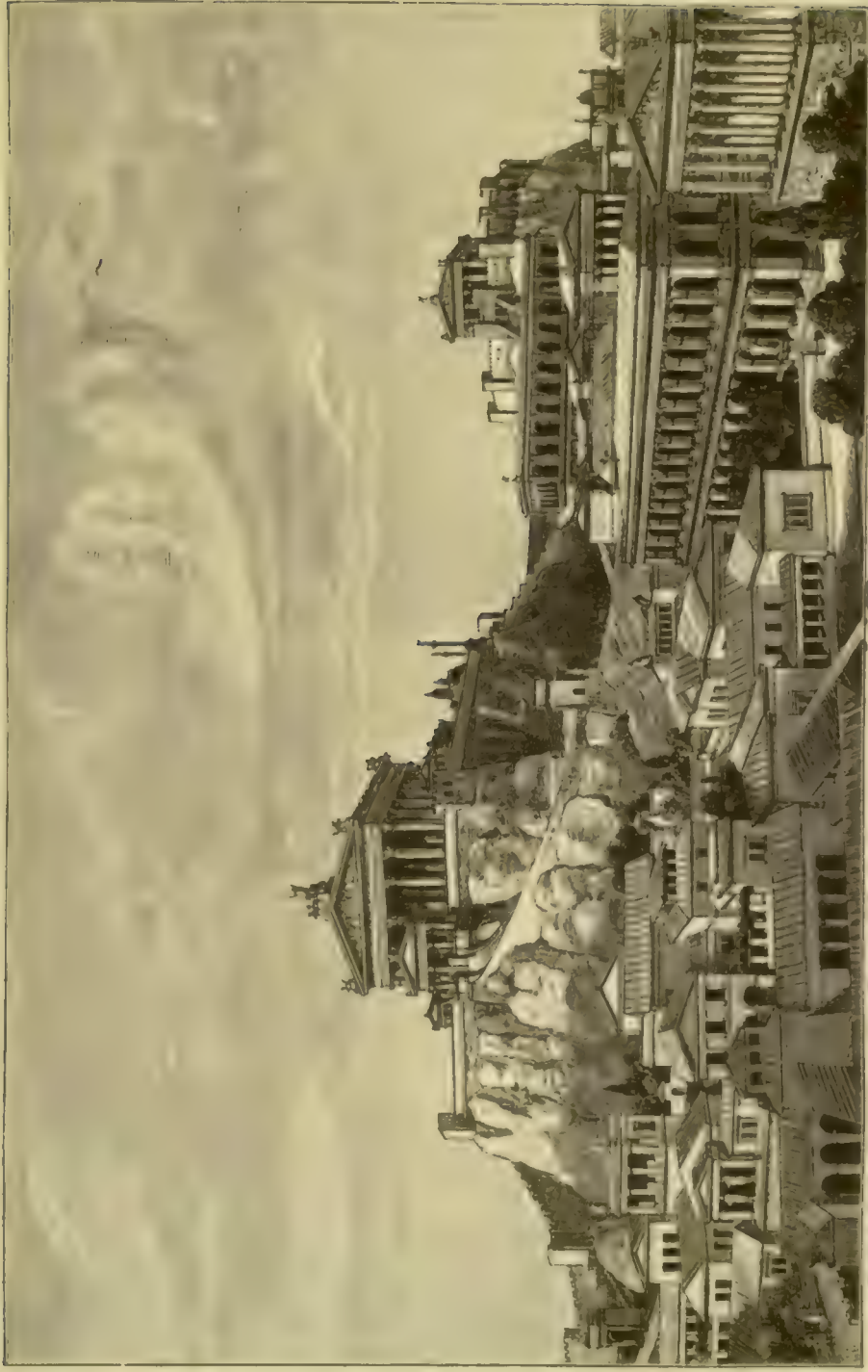
When the rising of the Illyrian legions made the greatness and near-

ness of the danger apparent at Rome, re-enforcements were called in haste from the west. Spain was unprepared and lukewarm, and in the north matters were worse. Britain was being attacked by the free Celtic tribes; and on the Rhine, whose defences had been seriously weakened, a bold adventurer took the opportunity of Vespasian's rising to form the most daring plans against Roman supremacy. Claudius Civilis, a friendly Batavian of princely descent, and prefect of a cohort of auxiliaries, had, after twenty-five years of service, been most shamefully treated by the Roman rulers. Fully acquainted with Roman affairs, of rare keenness of intellect, far superior to his countrymen in foresight, judgment, and ability to lead, he burned to avenge himself, and to destroy utterly the power on the Rhine. When suggestions came to him from Antonius Primus to occupy the Romans on the Rhine by an insurrection, he was able to cover his plans with the name of Vespasian. At first he won some successes. Vast numbers of Celts and Germans joined him; and he vigorously, though unsuccessfully, attacked the frontier fortress of Vetera, which was defended by a strong Roman garrison.

Vitellius was thus thrown for his defence solely upon his troops in Italy. The soldiers remained true to him, but the leaders were not to be trusted. Valens lay sick, and Caecina received the command. He had already determined upon desertion; and on arriving at the Po, where he took his position between Cremona and Ravenna, he began an intrigue with Lucilius Bassus, prefect of the naval station at Ravenna. When Bassus carried the fleet over to Vespasian's party, Caecina tried to persuade his legions to follow the example; but the soldiers put him in irons, and, choosing new leaders, started to unite with the legions stationed at Cremona. Thereupon Antonius Primus boldly pushed out of Verona in order to fall upon the two divisions of the hostile army while they were still separated. In two forced marches he reached the neighborhood of Cremona, and fought a battle (end of October, A.D. 69) with the garrison, in which the Vitellians were finally driven back to the town. Just then the other legions reached Cremona, and, uniting with their defeated comrades, began at once, though night was falling, an attack upon the Illyrian army. A terrible battle followed in the darkness, which Antonius won. The Vitellians were forced to surrender, and were sent to Illyricum; but Antonius could not prevent the sacking of the town, which continued four days. On the news of the battle of Cremona, the western provinces of the empire passed over to Vespasian at once.

Only the Apennines and the snows of winter now defended Vitellius from the Illyrian troops. He hoped with his city troops to check the Illyrians at Mevania on the Clitumnus. When he heard that the fleet at Misenum and the city of Puteoli in his rear had abandoned him, he then completely lost his head, led his troops to Narnia, and hastened back to Rome. Meantime Antonius Primus had started south with two legions, and in December crossed the Apennines without drawing the sword, when the Vitellian troops at Narnia went over to him. Then by direction of Mucianus, who was following through Illyricum, he proposed an agreement to Vitellius, by which the emperor should abdicate, and retire, as a private individual, with a large pension, to some Campanian villa. Vitellius and the property-holding citizens of Rome were rejoiced at the prospect of so satisfactory an end to the civil war. The emperor at once entered into negotiations with Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, then president of the police in Rome, and on December 18 concluded with him a formal agreement to abdicate. But unexpectedly a frightful catastrophe followed. The mob and the troops would not hear of the abdication of Vitellius, and forcing the emperor to retire to the palace, attacked the party of Sabinus, and blockaded him on the Capitol. During the night Sabinus sent messengers to Antonius, whose soldiers had been celebrating the Saturnalia at Oriculum, forty-four miles from Rome, calling for speedy relief. On the evening of December 19 the Illyrian general reached Saxa Rubra, eight miles from Rome, where he heard with horror that on that day the Vitellians had stormed the Capitol (PLATE V.), setting its splendid temple on fire, and had murdered Sabinus before the eyes of the despairing Vitellius. On the next morning the maddened troops took up the march upon the city. The Vitellians everywhere gave way before the Illyrians, and in the narrow streets the massacre continued till afternoon. When at last the citadel was stormed and the guard of Vitellius butchered, Vitellius himself was discovered on the Palatine, and put to death. Nearly 50,000 men fell on that day. On the following morning the senate assembled (December 21), and in due form conferred upon Vespasian the imperial title; but the pillage of the city only ceased when Mucianus arrived in Rome, and with a strong hand put down the arrogance of the soldiers, sending the best of the victorious legions to Syria or the Rhine.

Vespasian remained several months in the East, but the struggle on the Rhine and in Judea continued for a much longer time. On the Rhine, the blockade of Vetera was with great difficulty relieved by the twenty-



Centum gradus.
"The hundred steps."

Temple of Jupiter.

Asylum.

Arx and Temple of Juno Moneta.
Tabularium.

Temples in the Forum.

Basilica Julia. Temple of Castor and Pollux.

The Capitol at Rome: restored. (Drawn by G. Rehlender.)

second legion under Dillius Vocula. But the news of Cremona had a disastrous effect. The leaders declared for Vespasian, but the soldiers, though acquiescing, were bitterly discontented, and their mutinous temper weakened the army, while Civilis, throwing off the mask, continued the contest with increased energy, and was successful in persuading the Belgian Celts to desert Rome. Under these circumstances the war continued for a long time around Vetera, which Civilis again blockaded in the beginning of A.D. 70, while Vocula, after the mutinous Roman relieving army murdered its general, the old Hordeonius Flaccus, at Novaesium, was compelled to retire to Mayence. In Gaul the news of the destruction of the Capitol produced intense excitement. The Druids everywhere preached that the palladium of Rome was lost, and that the power had now passed to the Celtic nation. Three leaders of Celtic auxiliaries, Julius Classicus and Julius Tutor of the Treviri, and Julius Sabinus of the Lingones, who boasted that he was a descendant of an illegitimate son of the great Caesar, determined to found a great and free Gallic state. When in the spring of A.D. 70 Vocula again attempted to save Vetera from Mayence, Tutor and Classicus revolted. The brave legate was pushed back to Novaesium and, unable longer to control his soldiers, was shamefully murdered. His whole army then swore allegiance to the new Gallic state. Cologne and the other places on the Rhine border joined the new movement, and at last Vetera surrendered.

Germania and a large part of Belgica were thus lost to the Romans, but the victors could do no more. The revolted legions were soon ashamed of what they had done. No one thought of blocking the Alpine passes against the Roman troops, which were already on the march to set up again the Roman eagles in Belgium and on the Rhine. As the leader for the northern war Mucianus appointed Petilius Cerialis, a distinguished officer of great skill, and of boldness amounting at times to indiscretion, and also a shrewd diplomatist, who could conciliate, when it would gain his ends. A legion was ordered to come from Britain to Belgium, and three legions from Spain and the auxiliaries from Rhaetia were put in motion against the army of the insurgents. Besides the twenty-first legion at Vindonissa, Cerialis led five legions from Italy to the upper Rhine. In the first battle, when Tutor attacked Cerialis's advance guard, the Roman soldiers of his army immediately went over to their old comrades. Tutor retreated behind the Nahe, and on his losing a second battle near Bingen two more revolted legions at Treves declared for Vespasian. Cerialis advanced from Mayence toward Treves, defeated the Treviri, and treated kindly the Celts and the returning legions. But Civilis, in connection

with Tutor and Classicus, gathered a large army of Batavians, Ubii, Teneteri, Brueteri, and Celts, and in the night fell upon the Roman camp at Treves, on the left bank of the Moselle, with such fury that only after a protracted and very fierce struggle did Cerialis gain the victory. Meantime the fourteenth legion from Britain had landed upon the Belgian coast, and the denationalized Ubii in Cologne returned to Rome, cruelly murdering their Batavian garrison and other German troops. A second great battle near Vetera again also turned against Civilis, who took refuge in his native Batavian swamps, where adversity speedily dissipated his dreams of a Gallic empire. At last both sides became weary of the war, the Romans fearing the dangerous delay in this swampy country, and in the fall of A.D. 70 an agreement was made between Cerialis and Civilis, by which amnesty was secured to the latter and the old relation between the Romans and the Batavians was re-established, and Civilis was pardoned.

The Jewish war had come to an end some months earlier. After Vespasian's departure, in A.D. 69, the variance among the Jews increased. The three leaders,—Eleazer, Simon's son, who held the Temple; John of Gischala, who, with his Galileans, held the outer lines; and Simon of Gerasa, who held the height of Zion, — having altogether 24,000 men, kept up a reign of terror in the city, and were in a constant feud with one another. In the spring of A.D. 70 Titus renewed the war with fully 80,000 men. In April he advanced with all his forces against the Jewish capital, which possessed a system of fortresses four miles in circuit, within which were several independent positions capable of vigorous defence. It was open to attack only on the north, and was defended on the other three sides by its situation on precipitous heights. With great difficulty, and in the face of the most furious and stubborn resistance, the Romans succeeded, in May, A.D. 70, in gaining a foothold in the new city. After five days the second great wall, which defended Acra, the lower city, was captured. The scarcity of food, that daily grew in Jerusalem from the complete investment of the city, enabled Titus to take by storm the citadel Antonia, on Mount Moriah, in the beginning of July, and by a wide-spread destruction to clear the city for an attack upon the Temple. This was taken on August 10, after a desperate struggle, and with the help of the artillery and of fire, and was finally utterly destroyed. John of Gischala and Simon still held the strong upper city on Mount Zion. Not till September 8, A.D. 70, could this be taken. Jerusalem lay in ruins. Three castles remained in which a legion was left as a garrison, while Judea was made a province by itself, distinct from Syria.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE.

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(A.D. 69-161.)

VESPASIAN, the new master of the Roman world, left Alexandria for Italy in May, A.D. 70, and on reaching Rome, late in the summer, at once devoted all his energies to the restoration of the state.

His task was lighter than Galba's had been. The Roman world in utter exhaustion longed for peace, and gave its loyal support to a man who had the reputation of being willing and able, with a strong hand, to restore tranquillity to the state, and to bring the insolent, disloyal, and demoralized army again under control. The wasting of the West by war, and the prodigality of Nero and Vitellius, had produced an enormous deficit, which even the rich plunder of the Jewish war hardly relieved. The sum necessary to restore the finances, and to make good the destruction of state property, was from \$1,800,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000.

Fortunately the new emperor was the right man to carry out the work put upon him. Unlike Galba, Vespasian had gained from age and an active life wisdom and discretion. His intellect was clear and sober, while his personal amiability won him friends. To a sound judgment he united benevolence, a rare sense of duty, and uncommon ability in administration. There was nothing petty in him. Necessary severity was guided by broad views of his position and his tasks. His dignity of character kept him from pursuing the defeated Vitellian party with needless harshness, but he carefully watched over the administration of justice and the vigorous direction of the police. In the reconstruction of the army all superfluous troops were disbanded (cf. Fig. 33), large numbers of discharged soldiers were settled in the colonies depopulated in the civil war, and the number of the standing army was fixed at thirty legions. To get rid of the mutinous spirit of the Italian troops, he began to exclude Italians from the legions. Their enlistment was quietly given up. Only the centurions

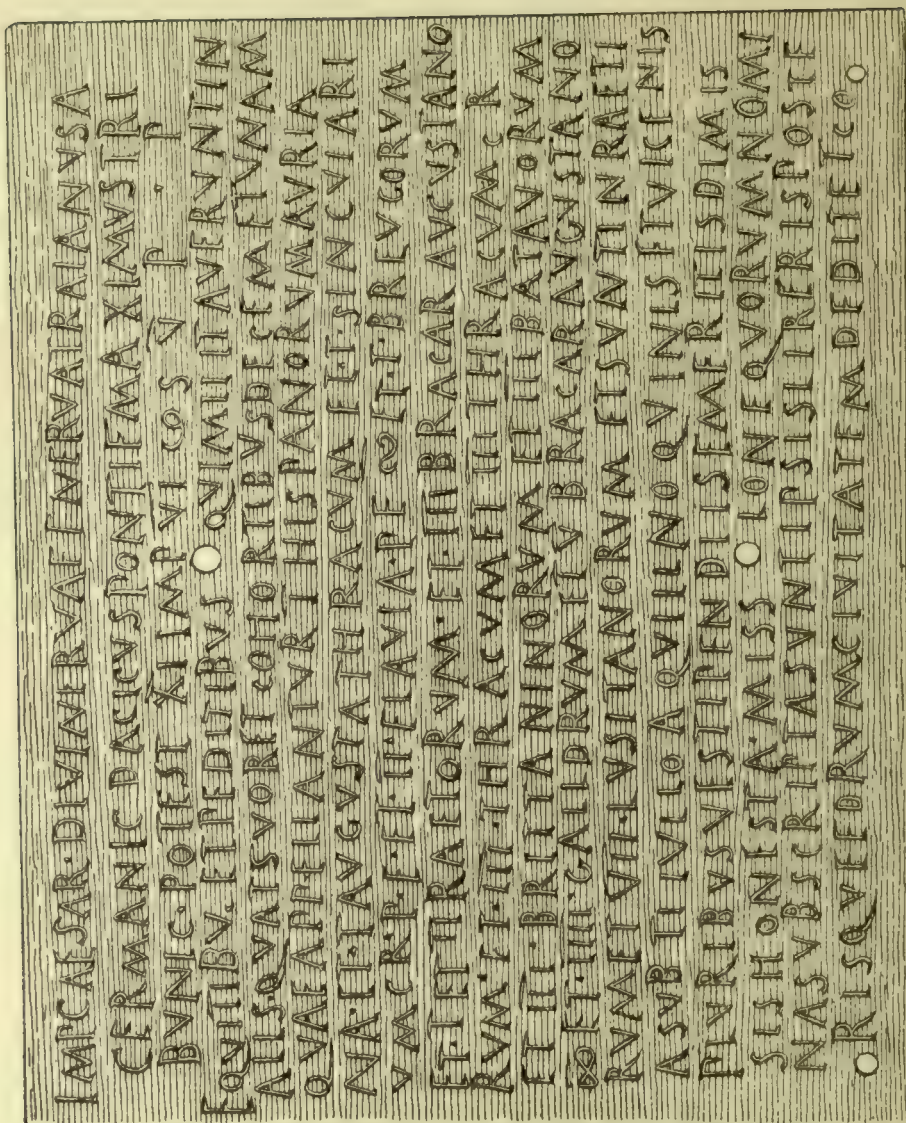


FIG. 33. 1—Military diploma. $\frac{1}{2}$ size of original. (Munich, Antiquarium.)

- ¹ This diploma is copied from an original document—a bronze tablet—issued in Rome, June 29, 107 A.D., to Mogetissa, son of Comatullus, of the tribe of the Boii. He had served as an ordinary private in the cavalry troop *ala prima Hispanorum auriana*. This copy was prepared for his wife Verecunda, the daughter of Casatus, a lady of the tribe of the Sequani, and for her daughter Matrulla. It served alike as certificate of honorable discharge from military service and as evidence of Roman citizenship for Mogetissa and his family. It was discovered in 1867.

The inscription reads: IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI NERVAE Filius NERVA TRAIANVS AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS DACICVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE XI IMPERATOR VI CONSVL V PATER Patriae EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN ALIS QVAT[S]VOR ET COHORTIBVS

O NVBIVGVMMKORIBVSQVASIVNCHA
 BVIDSENTCVAAESTCEVITASIISSIDATAAVTISI
 O VICARELLBESSENTOCVMIISSQVASPOSTIA
 DVXISSENTDVMTAXATISINGVILLINGVIAS
 PR K IVL

MINICIO FVNDANO CVETENNIOSEVEROCO
 NIAIT HISPANORVM AVRIANAE CVIPRAEST
 M IANSTENS AAFPAE COELENNVS
 FX GREGAIE
 MOGITTSSAE COMATVILL E BOLO
 EVNERECVNDACASATHEVXORHEIVSSIEQVAN
 ET MATRVLLAE FILLAE FIVS

DESCRIPTVMEITERECO GNITVMEX TABVLA
 APENEAQVAEELEXAEST ROMAE

FIG. 33. continued.

DECEM ET VNAM QVAE APPELLANTVR I HISPANORVM AVRIANA .
 ET I AVGVSTA THRACVM ET I SINGVLARIVM Civium Romanorum
 Pia Fidelis ET II FLAVIA Pia Fidelis Milliaria ET I BREVCORVM ET I ET
 II RAETORVM ET III BRACAR AVGVSTANORVM ET III THRACVM ET
 III THRACVM Civium Romanorum ET III BRITTAN(IN)ORVM ET III BA-
 TAVORVM Milliaria ET III GALLORVM ET V BRACAR AVGVSTAN-
 ORVM ET VII LVSITANORVM ET SVNT IN RAETIA SVB Tiberio IVLIO
 AQUILINO QVINIS ET VICENS PLVRIEVSVE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS
 DIMISSIS HONESTA MISSIONE EORVM NOMINA SVBSRIPTA SVNT
 IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET CONV-

and the staff-officers were still taken from Italy. The auxiliary troops were no longer employed in their native provinces, but were mixed with one another, and no longer placed under officers of their own race. Vespasian returned to the system of Augustus in respect to the guard, which henceforth consisted of nine cohorts,¹ and the garrison of the city of four. His reputation as a general and his popularity enabled him little by little to bring old and new troops alike under strict discipline.

In restoring the finances Vespasian could not avoid a strictness that exposed him to the charge of avarice and cupidity,—an unjust charge, however, since he took nothing for himself, and spent the income only for the state. The province of Achaia was re-established in A.D. 73 or 74; Rhodes, Samos, and Byzantium were deprived of their autonomy; and in A.D. 74 Lycia was permanently made into a province.

Vespasian, besides putting the finances in order, was able to collect a treasure, and thus, in cases of fire or earthquake, to give assistance, and by building enterprises to employ thousands of the poor, and splendidly to adorn the city. The Capitoline temple was restored. The palace was again limited to the Palatine. The greater part of Nero's 'Golden House' was torn down; a new temple to Peace (Pax) was built on the western slope of the Velia; and in A.D. 75 the vast Flavian Amphitheatre, now known as the Colosseum (Fig. 34), was begun, but not completed till Domitian. Its massive ruins are the most impressive monument remaining to us in Rome. Vespasian was the first Roman emperor to turn his attention to the education of youth. He attached to the interests of the principate the teachers, and so broke down the opposition to the empire that was nourished in literary circles. The introduction of public stipends for grammarians and rhetoricians brought over the schools to the emperors, and the opposition was restricted to the Stoic and Cynic philosophers.

On June 23, A.D. 79, Vespasian died, near Reate, and his son Titus (Fig. 35), succeeded him. The Romans saw with surprise this young and gifted prince, who as Caesar and co-regent had shown

BIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM EST CIVITAS
IIS DATA AVT SI QVI CAELIBES ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA
DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS PRIdie Kalendas IVLias
Caio MINICIO FVNDANO Caio VETTEN[N]IO SEVERO COnsulibus ALAE I.
HISPANORVM AVRIANAE CVI PRAEEST Marcus INSTEIVS Marci Filius
PALatina tribu COELENVS EX GREGALE MOGETISSAE COMATVLLI
Filio BOIO ET VERECVNDAE CASATI FILIAE VXORI EIVS SEQANAE
ET MATRVLLAE FILIAE EIVS DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX
TABVLA AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE.

¹ Increased between A.D. 76 and 112 (probably under Domitian) to ten.

harshness and a tendency to dissipation, devote his energies to gain the credit of the noblest clemency. The sense of the responsibility awakened all the better traits of his nature. His temperament was sensuous, his passions strong, and he was very excitable; but under the discipline and discretion of his father, in the hard school of war and the sobering business of administration, he had learned self-control. The splendor of his short and happy reign was heightened by the contrast with the rule of his successor; and it was the frugal policy of his father that put Titus in a position to gratify his liberality. Whether



FIG. 34. — The Colosseum at Rome. (From a photograph.)

Titus in a longer life could have carried out the system of gracious mildness with which he began his reign, is doubtful. It is only certain that his short reign was rich in proofs of genuine kindness, great executive ability, and self-mastery. The people did not forget the emperor, who, out of the material of Nero's palace, constructed great *thermae*, or public baths, which surpassed all earlier ones in magnificence, and were free to the people. The splendid triumphal arch of Pentelic marble, adorned with rich reliefs (Fig. 36), which still stands

as a memorial of Titus's victory over the Jews, was erected by the senate in A.D. 81, after his death.

In his reign occurred an unparalleled catastrophe in Campania. On August 24, A.D. 79, Vesuvius broke out in an eruption, in which three flourishing towns, Pompeii, Stabiae, and Herculaneum, were destroyed (PLATE VI., Figs. 37, 38), and the elder Pliny, one of the most fruitful writers and vigilant investigators of his time, lost his life.

Titus died September 13, A.D. 81. One man only had no part in the general mourning, his brother, Titus Flavius Domitianus, whose furious jealousy and malignant intrigues had embittered the life of Titus.

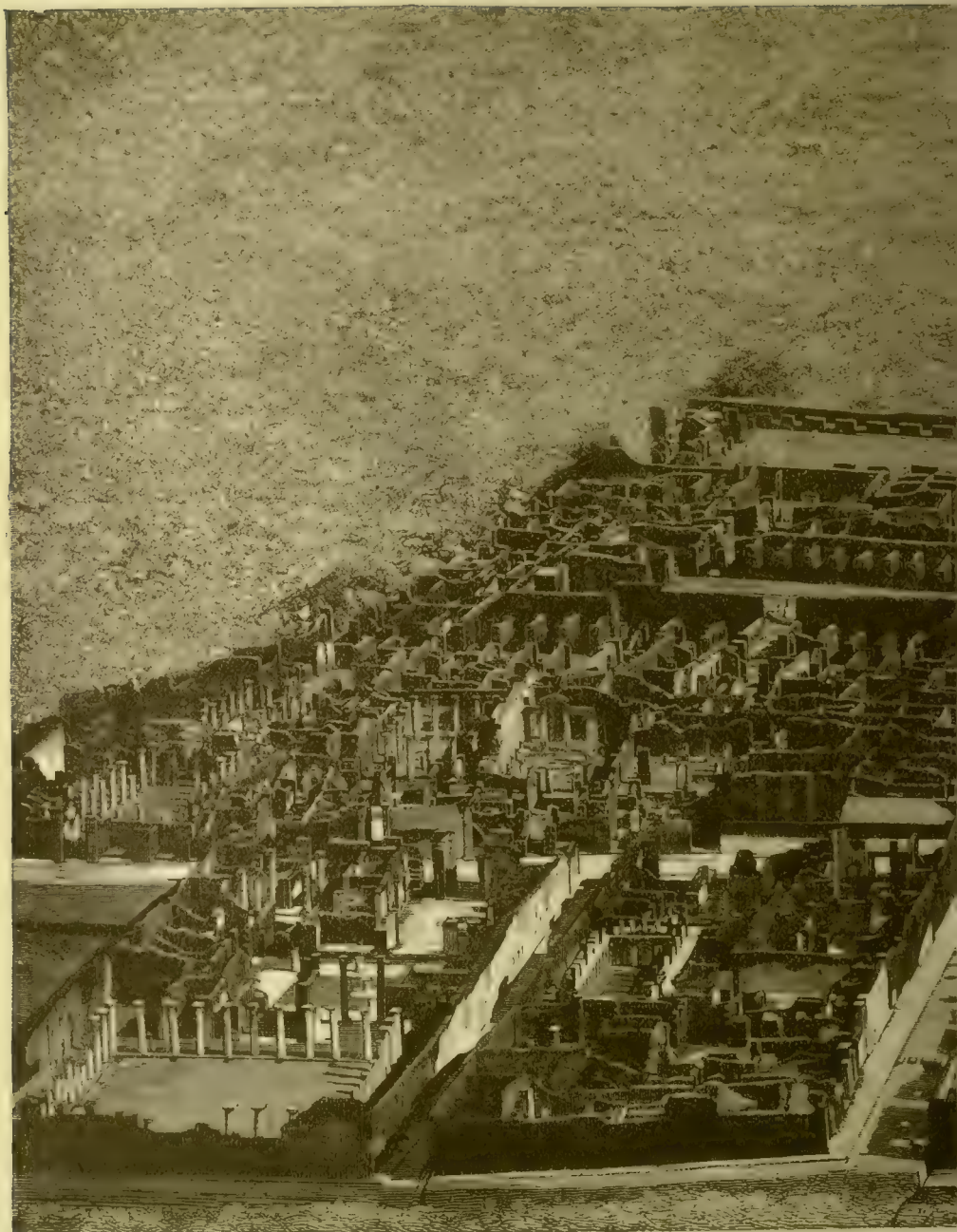
Domitian was born in Rome, October 24, A.D. 51. By no means destitute of gifts, he grew to manhood with no regular training, and was never subjected to the rigid discipline of the camp. Sent into retirement on account of follies committed before his father's arrival in Rome, in A.D. 70, Domitian devoted himself to study, but cherished a bitter animosity and jealousy toward his father and his brother, as he did later toward other distinguished men. He was unsocial and melancholy, always in ill temper. Yet the dangerous traits of his character had not then gained the upper hand, and he seriously undertook to gain the public esteem. His first regulations were intelligent, and made a good impression; and he even showed liberality and benevolence. He held strict control over the provincial governors; and in Rome he strove to improve the public morals, and to check conjugal infidelity with terrible severity.

But little by little he degenerated into a grasping, gloomy, and cruel despot. The change was first noticed in his greed for money. In many ways he was extravagant; and during his entire reign he displayed a restless activity in construction, and built important and serviceable structures. The games and races in the circus and the gladiatorial shows were zealously fostered to attract the masses, but his financial embarrassment arose from military expenses.

In connection with a campaign against the Chatti (A.D. 83), an extension of Roman territory was made which shortened the line between



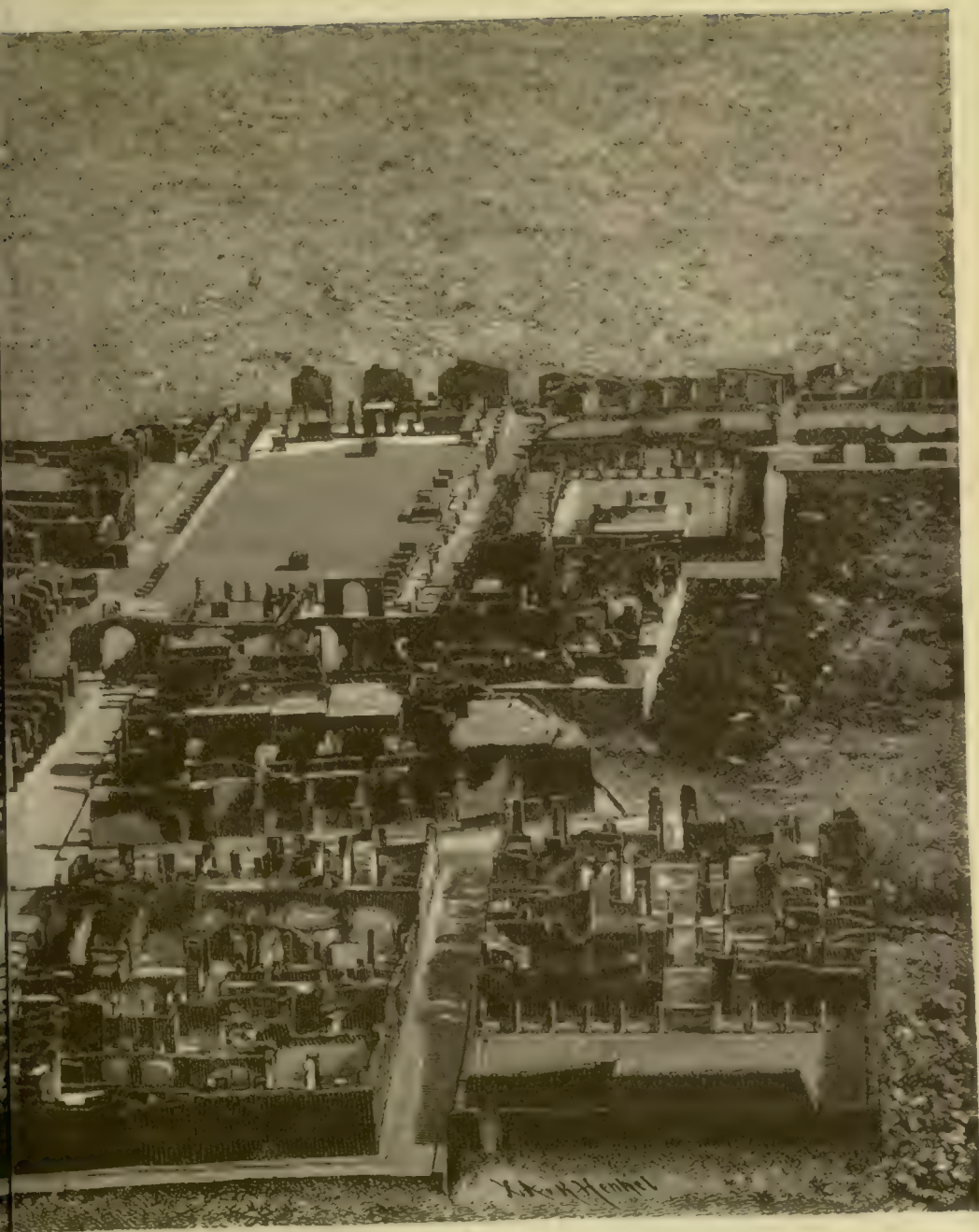
FIG. 35. — Titus. Vatican.
(From a photograph.)



Pompeii. Bird's View of a

(From

E VI.



Part of the Excavated District.

(photograph.)

the middle Rhine and the middle Danube, and thus the deep wedge between these parts of the German river boundaries began to be cut off. The labors now begun found their full completion under Trajan and Hadrian, but the purpose of occupying the German territory as far as the line from Aschaffenburg to Ratisbon and of securing a military boundary against the German peoples belongs plainly to the time of Domitian. A great part of the Taunus, the district of the Main as far as Friedberg, and also the Neckar valley were in this way brought into the realm. This new frontier of the upper German province (only the eastern part belonged at a later time to Rhaetia) was settled by the immigration of the restless element among the Romanized Celts (*quisque levissimus Gallorum*) and bore the name of 'Tithe-lands' (*agri decumates*); the name of the town *Aræ Flaviæ* (now Rottweil) points to the imperial Flavian house.

The military boundaries as they appear under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius were differently arranged for upper Germany and for northern Rhaetia. The upper German line, extending 228 miles from Rheinbrohl to Lorch, began at the northern limit of the province, included the Taunus and the plain of the Main as far as the neighborhood of Friedberg, then turned south to cross the Main at Grosskrotzenburg above Hanau. Following the Main to Wörth, it here turned in the direction of the Neckar, which it reached below Wimpfen. Afterward, in the time following Domitian, — perhaps first under Marcus Aurelius — a second line was advanced, which followed the Main, by way of Wörth, as far as Miltenberg, and from thence led direct to Lorch between Stuttgart and Aalen. The upper German line here united with the Rhaetian, which, taking a circular course toward the east for 94 miles, and twice crossing the Altmühl, reached the Danube at Kelheim. The ruins of the Rhaetian wall are now only a heap of stones without ditches or towers, but the Upper German line is a continuous wall of moderate height with out-lying ditches and watch towers at short distances on the inner side. Immediately behind this line, with far greater regularity than behind the Rhaetian line, were strong castles at a distance of nine miles from each other, built after the customary Roman manner, quadrangular or oblong in shape, with rounded corners, with two main streets crossing one another at right angles in the interior, at whose intersection were the quarters of the commander and the depository of the standards, and with four gates at the end of the streets. It seems probable that while these strong castles might serve to ward off smaller hostile bands, the line was not intended to defend the border, but as a demarcation, and to make its oversight more easy, and to force the Germans to cross the boundary,

even in time of peace, only at definite points. The line also may have served for the more speedy communication of news by fire signals. Its construction made it possible in the time after Trajan to defend Upper Germany with only two legions.

Domitian became hostile to the senate, and sought support among the masses and the soldiers, gaining them over at the expense of discipline by excessive mildness and by increase of pay. In A.D. 84 he raised the yearly pay of the legionaries from 225 denarii to about 300 (\$62); and under the pressure of financial distress he again encouraged the informers, reviving political processes with their confiscations and ill-



FIG. 36. — Relief from the Arch of Titus, Roman Forum. (From a photograph.)

treatment of rich families. After the conclusion of peace with the Batavians, Cerialis made a successful campaign in Britain against the powerful Brigantes, extending the frontier to Lindum (Lincoln) and Chester. His successor, Sextus Julius Frontinus, added almost the whole of Wales to the Roman province. In A.D. 78 the new governor, Cnaeus Julius Agricola, of Forum Julii, father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, subdued northern Wales, permanently occupied Anglesey, and was able to make Eboracum of the Brigantes (York) the chief fortress of the north. In A.D. 80, accompanied by the fleet along the east coast, he crossed the border of Scotland, or Caledonia, to subdue, if

possible, the entire island. He advanced as far as the Firth of Tay, near Perth, and employed the three following campaigns in exploring the country, in crushing the resistance of the inhabitants, and in constructing fortifications by which control was gained of the isthmus between the Firths of Clyde and Forth. These attacks roused to arms

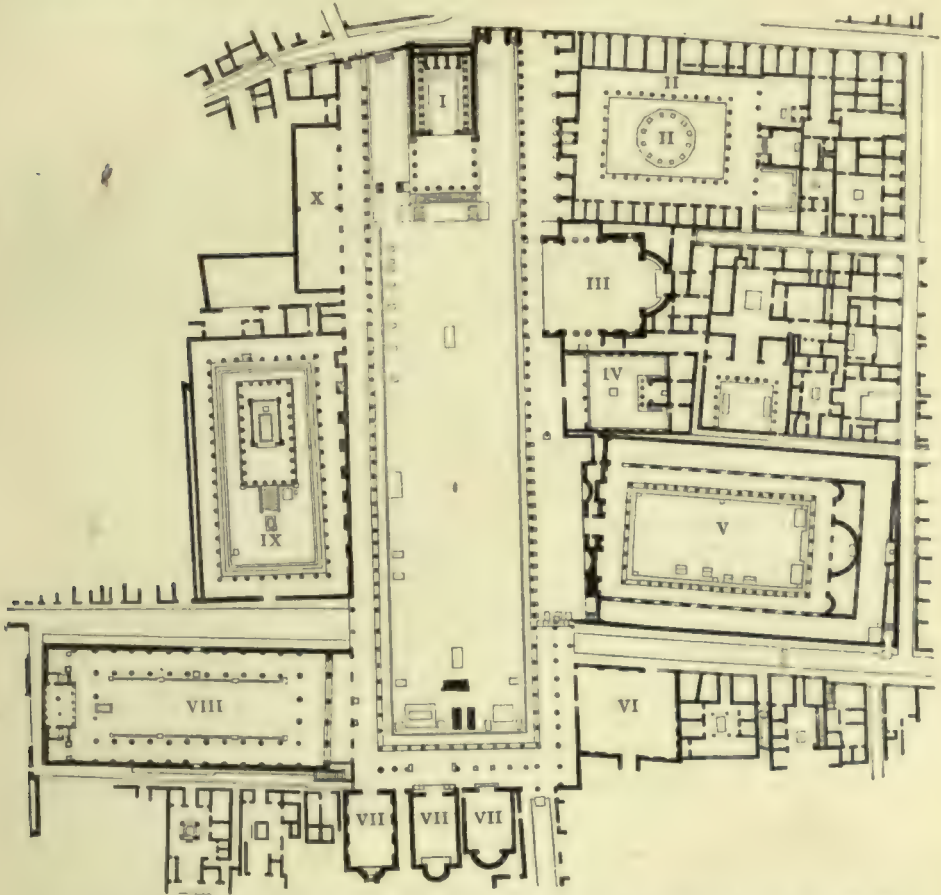


FIG. 37. — The Forum civile at Pompeii. Ground-plan: I. Temple of Jupiter; II. So-called Pantheon; III. Hall for the sessions of the *decuriones* (Senaculum); IV. So-called Temple of Quirinus; V. Edifice of Eumachia; VI. "School;" VII. Curia; VIII. Basilica; IX. Temple of Venus; X. Lesche.

the tribes of Caledonia; which in A.D. 84, under their leader, Calgacus, attacked the Romans on the Graupian Hills, where the campaign ended in a brilliant victory for Agricola. The fleet pushed on to the most northern point of Scotland, beyond Cape Wrath. Agricola's plan to subdue Ivernia (Ireland) was not sanctioned by Domitian, as a heavy

draft was being made upon the Roman arms along the Danube; and in A.D. 85 the jealous emperor recalled him from Britain.

The chieftains of the Daco-Getan tribes north of the Danube had surrendered the supremacy over the entire people to Decebalus,¹ a man of great executive ability and unusual gifts as a leader. He formed an effective army of Daci and Getae and Roman deserters, and extended his influence over the related peoples south of the Danube. The Danube frontier was not thoroughly defended. Vespasian had withdrawn the legions from Dalmatia and the valley of the Drave, two



FIG. 38. — Pompeii as excavated. The house of Cornelius Rufus. (From a photograph.)

Pannonian legions were advanced to Vindobona and the Noric Carnutum, so that the entire Moesian border was defended with four legions. Decebalus made his first attack upon the Romans about A.D. 83, and in the following years successively defeated two imperial armies. A third army, under Julianus, succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the Dacians in their own country, and in penetrating to their capital, Sarmizegethusa (Gradischtje). (Cf. PLATE VII.) But Domitian, who had quarrelled with the German tribes settled by Tiberius on the Danube, and had been defeated by them, hastened, in A.D. 89, to make peace with the Dacians; and, seeking to save appearances, assumed the

¹ This name was probably not the name of an individual, but a royal title.



Relief from the Column of Trajan. S

(From

The Roman army is engaged before Sarmizegethusa, the chief stronghold of the Dacians, the ruins of eastern Hungary. Scenes from this engagement cover more than half of the reliefs on the column, which ways: the bed-rock is sometimes excavated into a rampart; thereon are laid two layers of huge stones with timber. This use of stone and timber is ancient, and traces of it have been found also in Gaul and Spain. T

The troops of Trajan advance to storm the fortress; the slingers let fly their missiles, while the l

The weapons of the Dacians are of various sorts, only imperfectly indicated in the relief, for artis Roman on the ladder has already cut off his antagonist's head, and holds it as a trophy in his left hand. The

E VII.



forming of the chief city of the Dacians.

röhner.)

ich at the present time cover the hills surrounding the village of Varhély or Gradischte, circle of Hatzeg, south-
about it like a spiral; here only the beginning is represented. The walls of the stronghold are built in various
ber between; upon these are placed the walls proper, where the stonework is interrupted by two layers of

aries, protected by their shields, seek to effect an entrance upon ladders.

reasons: the positions of their arms show whether they are using bow and arrow, javelin, or sword. The
ment worn by the Romans, with scalloped edges, appears to be a coat of armor made of woven wire.

bearing of a victor, took Decebalus into the number of allied princes, and had the impudence to celebrate a splendid triumph in Rome. The treaty was as dishonorable as it was disadvantageous. Besides paying down a sum of money to the Dacian king, the emperor bound himself to deliver yearly definite presents, which the Romans called tribute. Decebalus continued to perfect preparations for a new conflict with the Romans, which he knew was unavoidable whenever an emperor who was a true Roman should arise.

The emperor's rapacity no longer shrank from public confiscations. He broke with the senate in the second year of his reign, when it demanded that he should respect the judicial rights of the senators in capital cases. He became dissatisfied with the title of 'Dominus,' and adopted that of 'Son and Brother of the Gods,' and at last openly of 'God' (*Deus*). His decrees began with the formula, 'Your master and God enjoins,' and soon he was addressed orally and by letter only in this way. Temples and sanctuaries arose to the honor of the 'divinity' of Domitian, and before his statues (Fig. 39) flowed the blood of victims. This turn of his policy was associated with the service of his favorite divinity, Minerva, as whose 'son' he wished himself regarded. Domitian advanced the constitutional power of the principate, in A.D. 84,



FIG. 39. — The Emperor Domitian, Vatican. (From a photograph.)

by assuming the censorship for life, and thus secured the right of filling up the senate at any time and in any way he pleased. His successor gave up the name of the permanent censorship; but the later emperors held fast to the rights of the office, and henceforth we find the places in the senate arbitrarily filled by the emperor by censorial 'adlection.' Domitian made use of his new right to remove obnoxious senators with the same freedom that the earlier censors had employed,

and to humiliate senatorial families by the exercise of the censorial function in the regulation of morals, for which they gave him only too frequent opportunity.

A revolt of the army of Upper Germany in A.D. 88 was soon suppressed, but it led to investigations and executions at Rome of those implicated, which were extended to whoever was suspected by the emperor, or was repugnant to him for his independent attitude; and the despot displayed a demoniacal pleasure in the torments of the condemned. A conspiracy was formed in the palace, with the connivance of the empress Domitia, by the prefects of the guard and other men in high station. At an audience on September 18, A.D. 96, the chamberlain Stephanus struck a dagger into Domitian's side, and he was then strangled by other conspirators.

The conspirators had prepared in advance for a successor. The principate came to M. Cocceius Nerva (Fig.



FIG. 40. — Nerva. Gold coin, inscribed: IMP · NERVA CAES · AVG · P · M · TR · P · COS · III · P · P. (Imhoof-Blumer.)

40), a man of sixty-four, experienced in business, of benevolent character, to whom it was allotted to introduce better times to Rome. The senate gladly recognized him; but it was difficult to pacify the soldiers, who had been passed over in the election. Cessation of political processes, recall of the outlawed, restoration of confiscated estates, and other measures of the kind, marked the new government. The fury of the higher classes against those who had

lodged criminal complaints, and had become the bloody tools of Domitian, passed all bounds; but the emperor was far too intelligent to yield to the thirst of revenge. He gave the definite promise that, under his government, no senator should be condemned except by the senate itself. His consideration for the aristocracy, however, had the unfortunate result that the governors of the provinces at once fell into their former evil ways.

After restoring order in the finances by wise economy, Nerva founded new peasant colonies in Italy, and strove to improve the cultivation of the land, and to strengthen the Italian stock by a system of poor relief. The underlying idea was to assist poor parents to educate their children till their fourteenth year. A fixed capital proportionate to the number of inhabitants was set apart for each community, and lent to the land-owners at a low rate of interest. The soil was the basis of the loan. The interest was paid yearly to the emperor for the

purposes of the foundation by the occupant of the soil for the time being. The distribution was made through the municipal officials, who, in the beginning, were under the control of the imperial *curatores viarum* ('road-wardens.')

But his services did not protect the emperor from danger from the guard. In October, A.D. 97, the instigations of their prefects led the praetorians, angered at the economy of Nerva, to blockade the palace, with the demand for the execution of the murderers of Domitian, and to massacre before Nerva's eyes all who had been concerned in the deed on whom they could lay their hands.

Nerva had no wish to share the fate of Galba, and, to free himself from his humiliating position, determined to secure a defender and support by the adoption of a distinguished general. In October, A.D. 97, he adopted Trajan, the legate of the Upper Rhine, as his son and co-regent.

The elevation of Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (Fig. 41) marks a new phase in the principate. He was the first emperor who was a provincial. Descended from a Span-



FIG. 41. — Trajan. Antique bust in Rome. Capitoline Museum. (From a photograph.)

ish family, of Italian origin, he was born September 18, A.D. 53, at Italica in Baetica. His father was a legate in the Jewish war, and his son was trained under his direction. For ten years Trajan served as military tribune in the Orient and on the Rhine, acquiring an iron constitution, hardened to privation and to climatic change. He was consul in A.D. 91, from A.D. 96 administered Upper Germany as legate, and, after his adoption, undertook a greater task on the Lower Rhine. The esteem in which Trajan was held by the army at once humbled the arrogance of the guard. The leaders of the

mutiny were sent to the Rhine, and there put to death. While Trajan was organizing the German border, especially the newly annexed Agri Decumates, Hadrian, his cousin, brought to Cologne the news that, on January 27, A.D. 98, Nerva had died. The emperor completed his labors, including the foundation of a fortress in place of Vetera, destroyed by Civilis, made a journey to the Danube, where the war came to an end, and, in the autumn of A.D. 99, entered Rome. The Romans were delighted with the dignity, earnestness, and simple manners of the new emperor, and with his noble bearing and determined face. His wife also, Pompeia Plotina (Fig. 42), from a family of Southern Gaul, was regarded as the ornament of her sex. The new master of the state, Trajan, was far more than a great warrior, though his inclinations turned to military operations. With-



FIG. 42. — Plotina, wife of Trajan. Gold coin, inscribed: PLOTINA AVGVSTA IMPERATORIS TRAIANI uxor. (Imhoof-Blumer.)

out possessing a learned education, he had an intelligent appreciation of science and literature. To princely mildness and strict love of justice, a clear insight into the needs of Italy and the provinces, he joined intelligence and tact, and a deep interest in administration. His direction of the finances was especially celebrated. Trajan was able, by frugal management, to do away with the evil of Domitian's administration, and to remit oppressive taxes.

The severe Dacian and Parthian wars, his many building operations, his great projects for the common good, brought no increase of taxes, nor mean and unworthy financial measures.

He first settled firmly his relations to the senate and people in Rome. As the first emperor from the provinces, a *homo novus*, his position was different from that of Vespasian. Moreover, the bloody reign of Domitian had again alienated the senate from the principate; but the fundamental opposition of the aristocracy to the empire was now worn away, the predominance of the emperor was everywhere accepted, and it was an easy matter for a man of ability, sincerely wishing to 'unite monarchy and liberty,' and to place the supremacy of law clearly above personal caprice, to bring the two elements in the state together. Trajan's frank and simple disposition, his use of ceremonial only where custom demanded, his most unconstrained intercourse with the senators, enabled him to win over the senate, and to introduce again the methods of Augustus. He began by giving the senators the same promise for their safety as Nerva had done. The

restoration of full freedom in the discussions of the senate, the strict observance of the ancient etiquette and republican forms, and his severity towards Domitian's informers, secured the emperor on this side. The favor of the people he acquired by his affability, his care for the regular provisioning of the city, by his largesses, and by lavish games in the amphitheatre. He completed the system, begun by Nerva, of 'alimentation' of needy children of free birth in Italy; and in this he was followed by his successors till Pertinax. He assisted the poorer classes to marry, and was imitated by rich private individuals. There were dark traits in Trajan's character, which disfigured his private life; but these were easily overlooked in consideration of his military achievements.

In the true Roman spirit Trajan considered it was his duty to inflict punishment as soon as possible upon the Dacians. The military road begun by Tiberius, on the right bank of the Danube, was continued in A.D. 98. Trajan prepared to attack the Dacians from the province of Moesia.¹ The break with Decebalus was marked by the refusal to pay the tribute. Trajan left Rome in March, 101, and hastened to Singidunum, where the army was mustered 60,000 strong. Crossing the Danube by a pontoon bridge at Viminacium (Kostolatz), below the mouth of the Margus (Morava), he advanced northward, and by securing his connections with the Danube established a strong base for operations. After a hard winter the advance was renewed in the spring of A.D. 102, and the Dacians were everywhere routed. At last their capital, Sarmizegethusa, and the king's sister, fell into the hands of the Romans. Decebalus was forced to humiliate himself before Trajan, and to conclude a disadvantageous peace. He was to give up the land which the Romans had already conquered, and his munitions of war, to raze his fortresses, to send back all prisoners and all Romans in his service, and never to employ Romans again. The Dacian kingdom thus became a Roman client state. Trajan celebrated his splendid triumph in Rome; but Decebalus had no thought of carrying out the hard conditions, and made alliance with the Parthian court. Thereupon Trajan determined to make Dacia a Roman province. He united Moesia with the left bank of the Danube by a permanent bridge, which was protected by towers at each end. It was built in eighteen months by Apollodorus of Damascus, between Turnu-Severinu and Kladova. It rested on

¹ In Domitian's time Moesia was divided into two provinces, Upper Moesia (now Servia), west of the river Ciabrus; and Lower Moesia, east of the same river. Each had its own legate.

twenty immense stone piers, 150 feet high and 60 feet wide, of which the ruins are still visible; its length was 3570 Roman feet; the



FIG. 43. — The Column and Forum of Trajan in Rome. (From a photograph.)

arches, with a span of 110 feet, were of wood. Trajan, accompanied by Hadrian, began the campaign against Dacia in A.D. 105. The struggle

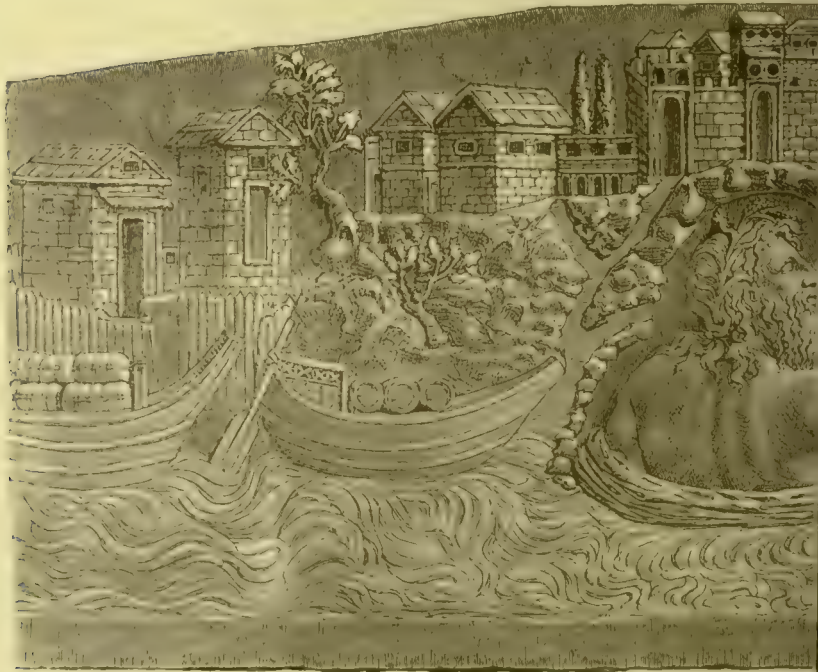
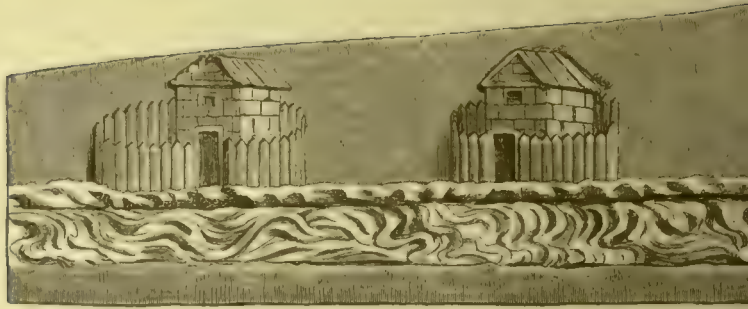
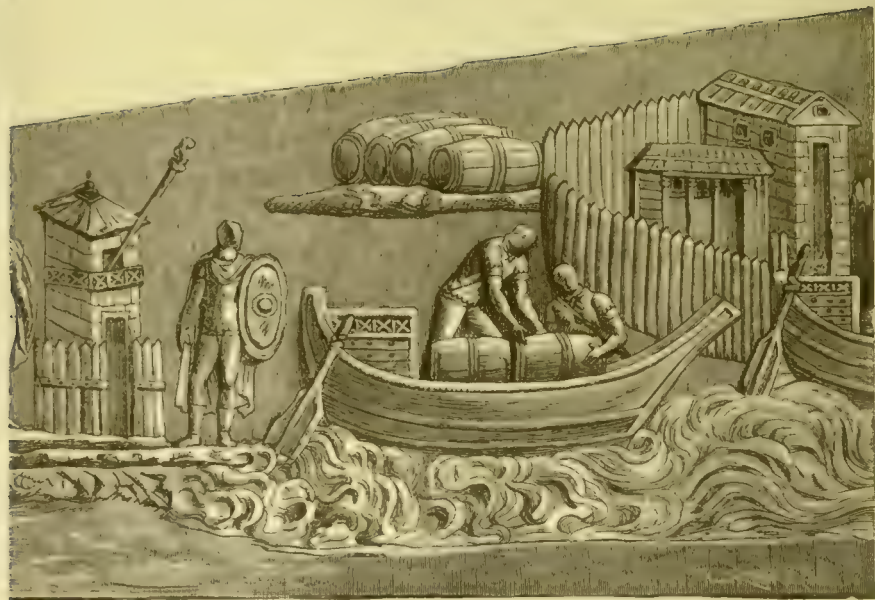


PLATE VIII.



Reliefs on the Column of Trajan in Rome.

(From Fröhner.)





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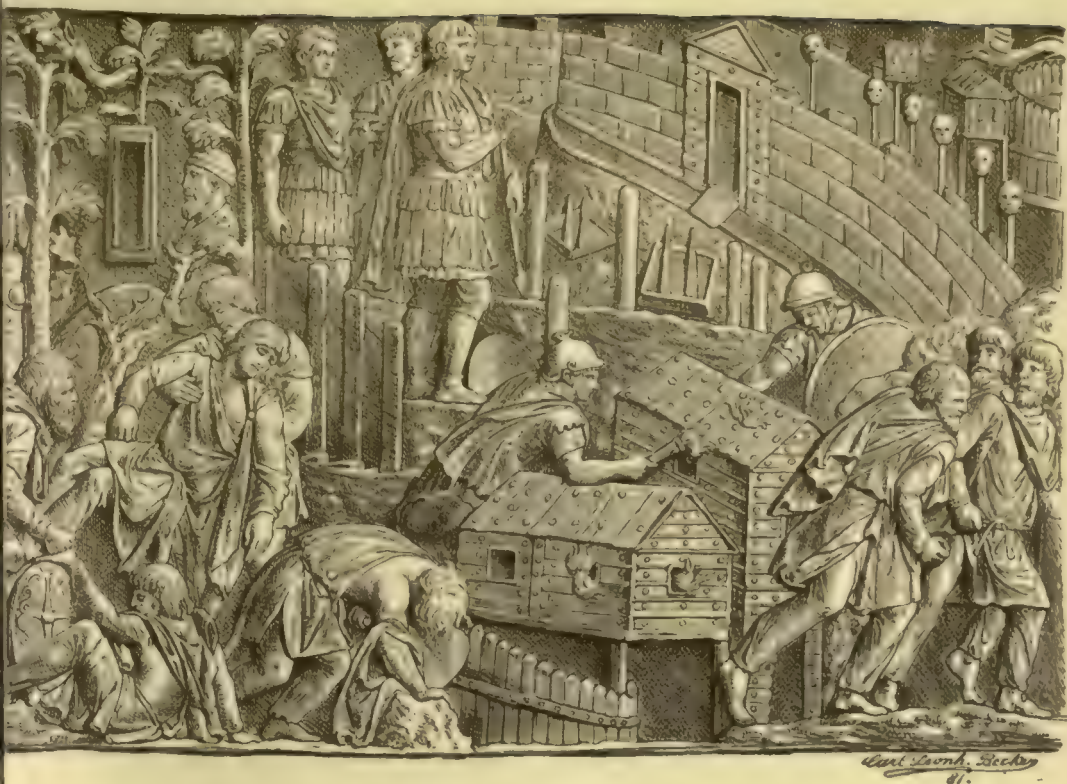
Reliefs on the Column of Trajan.—Battle

The Romans are engaged in conflict with the Dacians, some of their number in the midst of the enemy, and are doing valorous deeds. One has cut off the head of a Dacian, and holds it by the hair between his teeth, and with this trophy rushes against the enemy. At the extreme left is a German auxiliary soldier, with an uplifted club; he is naked to the waist, and wears trousers which reach only to his knees, with a mantle girt about him. Club, sword, and oval shield are his weapons. The Roman directly above him carries a bow and arrow.

The Romans have their usual armor; their shields are adorned with various emblems; each soldier has wrapped a cloth about his neck.

The relief exhibits the heroic resistance of the barbarians, whose defeat, however, seems assured. The ground is covered with dead and dying Dacians; a wounded man is laid under a tree by two comrades; another, at the right of the centre, near the palisade, falls upon his own sword.

The Dacian leaders wear skull-caps (*pilophores*), and two of them fringed military cloaks over a cuirass. The ordinary soldiers are bareheaded; but their costume, as well as the appearance of their city, shows that they belonged to a higher grade of civilization than the Germans of the same period. Their small shields resemble those of the Romans; they also use the short sword, and throw javelins—for the most part not represented, or at least not preserved, in the relief; one, at the centre, is hurling stones. Their best weapon, however, is the bow; in the background, a Dacian, resting it against the trunk of an oak, is aiming his arrow at a Roman. The Dacian archer in the thick of the fight has a quiver on his back.—In the background, in a



Destruction of a City. (From Frohner.)

grove of oaks and pines, the serpent (*draco*), the national emblem of the Dacians, is twice represented. Attached to the end of a long pole, and constructed of several sections, with wide-open jaws and body inflated by the wind, it strikingly resembles a living reptile. At the side of one of them a *vezillum* floats in the breeze.

The battle takes place in a storm, and the god of thunder (*Jupiter tonitrualis*) directs his bolts against the barbarians, thus contributing in no small degree to their defeat.

The barbarians are now vanquished, and the surviving remnants, at the extreme right, flee into the forests. A city strong in defences must be surrendered. The victorious Roman soldiery set fire to the houses. Trajan views the scene in person, with javelin in hand, and attended by two officers.

The arrangement and plan of the Dacian city are remarkable. On the summit of the rocks stands the citadel, surrounded by two concentric walls; around the first enclosing wall, with its battlements, is a moat. A bridge is thrown across the moat in front of the wooden doors of the fortress. Between the two walls six human heads are impaled on as many posts, and a [Dacian] *vezillum* floats from a seventh. The pointed stumps, enclosed, near the doorway, have not been satisfactorily explained; possibly they are a sort of trap to check the advance of the enemy. Just below Trajan's feet we can make out a flight of steps, which is protected by a board fence, and doubtless the stout posts to the right served a similar purpose.

The houses of the Dacians are, like the ancient pile-dwellings, of quadrangular shape and rest upon tree-trunks driven into the ground; the roofs and wall are made of planks; in the wall we see only windows; entrance was effected through a trap-door in the floor. In other parts of the reliefs occur Dacian houses built of stone.

was hard fought and protracted, but at last the emperor's generalship and the discipline of the Roman army gained the victory. Decebalus threw himself upon his sword in the last battle to escape capture. Multitudes of the inhabitants forsook the land with their possessions rather than submit to Roman sway. By A.D. 107 everything was quiet. The power of Rome now reached to the Upper Theiss, to the Carpathians, and to the Tyras (Dniester).

Trajan, the senate, and the people vied with one another in celebrating the great victory and in perpetuating its remembrance. The triumphal procession was one of the most splendid that Rome had ever seen, and in it the head of Decebalus was carried as a token of victory. For 123 successive days shows were given to the people. The war called into life a whole literature, Trajan writing his own commentaries, and poets celebrating his exploits; but only the great chronicle sculptured in stone by Apollodorus has survived. To gain space for this work, in which Roman art and architecture reached their highest point, Trajan caused the road from the Quirinal to the Capitoline to be levelled. On the northwest side, behind the Basilica Ulpia, rose the massive column of Trajan, which in A.D. 113 was dedicated to the emperor by the senate and people, and still stands (Fig. 43); a giant Doric column on a marble pedestal, which is $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 18 feet wide, the column measuring with base and capital 98 feet in height. The shaft is formed of twenty-three blocks of white marble, and is carved in a continuous spiral relief, 660 feet long, containing upwards of 2500 figures, and representing scenes of all kinds from the Dacian campaigns. (PLATES VII.-IX.,¹ and Fig. 44.) On the

¹ EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

Reliefs from the Column of Trajan. (From Fröhner.)

At the beginning of his series of sculptures the artist represents the Roman army on the banks of the Danube, which, a stormy stream, winds its course through a large part of the spiral relief bands. For reasons of perspective and proper grouping, the army is made to cross the river in a direction opposite the true one. We must, however, remember that the near bank here is the Roman bank, the territory of Upper Moesia.

The first reliefs show a series of block-houses and towers in connection with a fortified town. The first two structures are probably the huts of peasants or of shepherds. The houses are built in Roman fashion, with squared stone, with roofs, however, of pine boards. On the ground floor there is no opening except the door. The upper story is lighted by at least an opening over the door. Small courts surround and defend these dwellings, made of a palisade of pointed and squared logs.

Then follow a pile of wood and two stacks of hay or straw for winter use.

At a point where the banks become more elevated, stand three small quadrangular towers, each surrounded by a palisade which is strengthened by horizontal binding-strips. The roof of these towers has the form of a pyramid, the top being made fast by two iron bands. Around the second story runs a porch. The torches attached to the

top of the column was placed the colossal statue of Trajan in gilded bronze twelve feet high. Another important monument of Trajan's reign is the Arch of Trajan in Rome (Fig. 45). (For the plan of

windows indicate that night is approaching. These structures are watch-towers (*speculæ*, *φρούρια*).

The first tower is not guarded. At each of the others two sentinels stand; they appear to belong to the auxiliary troops, and are distinguished from the regulars by their barbaric garb, — close-fitting breeches, a sort of sweater with scalloped edges, and a cloak (*sagum*). At their right side they wear a sword,* on the left arm a small oval shield decorated with crowns and stars. In their hand they doubtless carried a long lance.

To the right and on the back are four casks (*cupæ*), the staves of which are kept in place by iron rings. Two soldiers load a boat with other casks; in the two other boats are sacks of grain and casks of wine. These boats (*scæfæ onerariæ*) are moved by an oar attached at the stern (*πηδάλια*): the seat of the steersman is constructed of boards fastened by bronze nails, and is surrounded by a balustrade. The sacks of grain are protected from injury by two wooden partitions. As the army provided its own provisions, the soldiers are here doing their duty as *levamentarii*.

The next relief represents a fortified town. At the entrance stand two large houses with wide courts enclosed by palisades. The first house has three windows; the building is remarkable from its resemblance to a portico open in front, and supported by four wooden pillars; in the rear wall are windows. The second establishment consists of two houses connected by a covered way; in front of the former is a porch upheld by a single column: the door of the other house is high above the ground, and must have been approached by a ladder. The roofs of these houses are made of pine boards with cross strips.

The relief now shows an increased elevation of the steep shore, upon which trees are seen. Their foliage indicates spring or early summer, the season when the Roman army entered Dacia.

Upon the heights is the city itself. One may notice between the first and second story of the two houses a sort of cornice; then comes a sort of arcade, behind which rise two poplar-trees. Three arched doorways admit to the citadel: the enclosing wall, made of rough hewn stone, is crowned with battlements (*pinnae*). Above two of the gates are apartments for guards in charge of the portcullis (*cataracta*). Within the citadel are several other buildings. Paths hewn in the rock lead to the water's edge.

Below the city is the rocky grotto of the river-god, Danubius. He is a colossal figure, with head crowned with reeds and beard dripping, his cloak wound about his waist like a sash. The god is friendly to the Romans, and with his outstretched right hand seems to support the bridge of boats which Trajan had thrown across the river.

The bridge consists of two sections, one of which — perhaps leading to an island — is shorter than the other. Upon the boats is laid a flooring, with a low balustrade. The elevated deck for the steersman, with its carved front, is noteworthy. At the point where the bridge passes to the shore it is supported upon piles.

The main portal of the citadel opens directly upon the bridge; it is so narrow that only two soldiers can pass through it abreast. Trajan, with a part of his forces, is already on the enemy's territory, while the head of his columns (*principia*) are just beginning to emerge from the citadel.

The legionaries have beards and mustaches; their heads, legs, and arms are bare: they wear a short-sleeved tunic which reaches nearly to the knees; over this a metal cuirass, two plates of which are attached to each other over the shoulders by straps and in front by clasps. The body and the shoulders are also protected by parallel strips of copper (*lora*). The sword hangs at the right side; and a helmet, put on the head only

* Many of the smaller features of the reliefs, swords, spears, etc., have been broken off in the lapse of time, and many heads and larger pieces have been sadly injured. The imagination must supply the deficiencies.

Rome and of the Fora of Rome under the emperors, see Figs. 46, 47).

For a long time the emperor's chief care was the land along the

when in front of the enemy, hangs from the shoulder. On the left arm the soldier carries a long shield, decorated with a star-like figure, surrounded by a wreath.

The luggage of the soldiers, their provisions and cooking-utensils, are hung on long poles (*furca, furcilla*); one may make out in some cases part of a bottle, a pouch or bag, wrapped with twine, and attached by a ring, a piece of netting, a kitchen kettle, and a water vessel. The *pilum*, or spear, usually carried in the right hand, is not reproduced by the sculptor.*

The five standard-bearers (*signiferi, imaginarii*), at the head of the troop on the bridge, have their heads and shoulders covered with the heads and attached skin of bears, which, with the paws joining under their necks, give them a martial aspect. Their garb consists of tight-fitting breeches, a tunic, and a sort of jacket with scalloped edges; they carry a sword at the right side, and an oval shield on the left arm. The two standards, at the top of which is an open hand surrounded by a sort of laurel wreath, are undoubtedly manipular standards; from below the ends of the transverse bar beneath the hand, ribbons were often hung. The shaft of the standard is covered with six disk-like sacrificial saucers, a crescent, and one of those wreaths of hay-wisps which were given to soldiers for distinguished bravery. The three other standards, probably of cohorts, are more ornate. Besides the metallic fork-like bars and the wreaths of hay, we see small tablets with extremities of a swallow-tail shape; the Roman eagle, a sacrificial saucer, and the bust of the emperor wreathed with hay (two of the latter upon one standard); further, an ornament in the form of an inverted hemisphere, of which the surface is decorated with leaf-work: then, high up, on a narrow tablet, apparently the figure of a god, who holds on his left arm either a sword or a torch. Between the two manipular standards march, bareheaded, a *vexillarius* and an *aquilifer*, attired like the others, except that they wear a mantle across the shoulders, instead of the bear-skin. The foremost one carries a cavalry banner with fringed edges. The eagle is represented on one standard, upon a basis, the sides of which taper inwards. The elevated wings of the eagle are surmounted by a mural crown, betokening the fact that the legion has been engaged in the capture of a city. Another standard-bearer carries simply an eagle. The ninth standard-bearer, finally, bare-headed, holds a *vexillum*, surmounted by a winged Victoria, holding her usual attributes, the palm and wreath.

The two bare-headed persons who stand at right extremities of the two bridges, looking back, are probably officers of high rank. Their costume resembles the statues of the emperor in full cuirass. The bronze *thorax*, moulded on the outlines of the human breast, is decorated at the bottom and top with a double row of narrow strips of embossed leather (*πρέπυες*), which protect thighs and shoulders. An ornate girdle surrounds the waist. Their officers also wear close-fitting breeches, and carry in the left hand a small object, perhaps a roll or a baton.

In the group already on the shore, we notice in the background two trumpeters (*cornicines*) with bear-skin head-gear. The instrument is a long semicircular horn (*cornu, aes curvum*) suspended at two points on a pole. A group of cavalymen, bare-headed, lead horses. The lances (*contii*) of only five are preserved on the relief, with which they were armed; but one can see from the position of their arms that all once had lances.

The saddles of the horses are embroidered; one horse is burdened with an oval shield.

Trajan himself marches at the head of the army, to which he shows the way to victory; his face is sadly disfigured.

* Similar omissions elsewhere may be accounted for from the fact that small objects on the relief, being at a great distance from the spectator of the column, would not be seen by him if represented.

Lower Danube.¹ Pannonia was divided, in A.D. 107, into two provinces. The garrisons on the Rhine were weakened; but the line of the Danube, from Carnutum to the Dobrudja, was occupied with ten legions, and great attention was given to assuring the military defence of Dacia and to Romanizing it as rapidly and as effectively as possible. Sarmizegethusa, the residence of the imperial governors, became the colony 'Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacica.' The naturally strong mountainous country of Transylvania was turned into a great fortress. All places of strategic importance and fords were protected by forts, connected by great roads; and large bodies of settlers were brought from various parts of the empire, — Syria and the East, Lucania, Apulia,



FIG. 45. — The Arch of Trajan in Rome. A sacrificial scene. (From a photograph.)

Gaul, and miners from Dalmatia, who developed the gold, silver, and iron mines in the mountains. Transylvania soon became the seat of a flourishing civilization.

The seven years following the subjugation of Dacia were devoted to works of peace. Roads and bridges were built in Italy, and magnificent harbors, like Ancona on the Adriatic, and Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia) on the Etruscan coast. For the provinces there was the same careful superintendence of the great roads: those along the

¹ In A.D. 106 the Syrian legate, Aulus Cornelius Palma, subdued Idumea, and Arabia Petra, that is, the country east of Palestine from Damascus to the Red Sea, containing two rich cities, Bostra and Petra. This was formed into a province of 'Arabia,' administered from Bostra. Damascus was united to Syria.

Danube were extended so that it was possible to travel continuously upon them from Gaul to the Black Sea. There still exists at Alcantara, in Spain, a splendid bridge over the Tagus, constructed by the emperor, with the assistance of neighboring municipia. In Lower Egypt, Trajan repaired the Ptolemaic canal, between the Nile and the Red Sea, which was made navigable. His correspondence with the younger Pliny, who was sent as extraordinary legate in A.D. 111 to



Bithynia, shows the method with which he conducted the administration.

The government of the state under the great emperors of the golden age developed into an intelligent despotism. Notwithstanding the regard that Trajan showed for the senate, the character of the imperial government became more and more that of an absolute monarchy. Trajan essentially limited the independence of the Italian municipalities. By a new device the curators, in consequence of the financial disorganization of the cities, were to make effective the imperial supervision of communal administration. This supervision over the buildings and the rent-rolls of the cities, over the property and

treasury of the communities, was intrusted to a prominent man of knightly or senatorial rank from a neighboring community. The communal officials had to submit their accounts to this officer, and could alienate no property except with his approval; and he had the decision



of legal questions on such points. In other important matters, as, for example, the change of election regulations, the consent of the curator was required; but he had no right to punish. This system had begun under Nerva, with the difference that the curator (or *logistes* as he was called in the Greek provinces) had supervision over all the commu-

nities in a province. This institution, beginning as an extraordinary measure, gradually became a regular one. In the third century representatives of the prince acquired the title of 'Corrector of the Free Cities.'

A breach with the court of Ctesiphon gave the emperor the opportunity to wreak upon the Parthians the vengeance for Crassus's defeat which Caesar had once meditated. Trajan knew the relations which the Dacian Decebalus had had with King Pacorus II. About A.D. 112 Pacorus was succeeded by his brother, Chosroes, who, to indemnify his nephew, Pacorus's son, drove out from Armenia another son of Pacorus who had been recognized by Rome as a vassal. On the ground of this breach of the treaty, Trajan determined to exert all his power, and to have a final reckoning with the Parthians. Late in A.D. 114, he put himself at the head of the troops in the Orient, but found himself obliged first to restore discipline by energetic means, and to strengthen them by veteran legions from Pannonia. In the spring the emperor pressed into Armenia, rejected all attempts at negotiations, made the land into a new province, and reduced the peoples of the Caucasus to vassalage. He then turned against the Parthians themselves, occupied Mesopotamia, and made this country also a Roman province, and wintered in Antioch.

In A.D. 116, crossing the Tigris at Nisibis, he conquered Adiabene, which he proposed should become the Roman province of 'Assyria.' Following the course of the river, he captured Seleucia and the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon, got possession of the golden throne of the Arsacidae, and took a daughter of the king prisoner. As he stood here at the gate of the extreme East, he was stirred by the memory of Alexander the Great, and lamented his age, which prevented him from following the course of the Grecian prince. He advanced as far as the mouth of the Tigris, but on his return to Ctesiphon and Babylon found that the conquered territories had risen in insurrection in his absence, incited by the outbreak of the Jews. The national aversion of the people to the Romans had caused Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and even Armenia to fall away. The inhabitants of Seleucia, Nisibis, and Edessa had massacred or driven out their Roman garrisons. The numerous Jews in Mesopotamia were particularly active in the movement, as part of an extensive conspiracy of all the Jewish communities in Cyprus, Egypt, and Cyrene, that since the destruction of Jerusalem had bitterly hated the Romans. Trajan energetically repressed the Mesopotamian insurgents. Nisibis and Edessa were visited with fire

and sword, Seleucia destroyed, and Trajan set up a rival king to Chosroes; yet the danger was only half overcome. Returning to Antioch, he found that in Cyprus, Palestine, Lower Egypt, and Cyrene, the Jews had risen in a body, and even in Mesopotamia were again breaking out. In their madness they wreaked on Greeks and Romans fearful outrages. Multitudes were murdered in Cyprus and in Cyrene, and with difficulty were the Romans able to maintain themselves in Alexandria. In Mesopotamia and in Cyprus the Jews were nearly exterminated, while in Egypt and Cyrene they were overcome only after long struggles.

Trajan, meantime, was taken severely sick with dropsy, and gave up the command of the Asiatic army to his cousin, Hadrian, and took ship for Italy. His sufferings compelled him to land on the coast of Cilicia, where at Selinus he died, August 8, A.D. 117, in the arms of his wife, Plotina. Before the senate in Rome, or ambitious generals in the camps, had time to consider, it was learned that Hadrian, who had the strongest family claim to the succession, had seized the power.

The new emperor, Publius Aelius Hadrianus (Fig. 48) was a near relative of Trajan, his grandfather having married Trajan's aunt, and like him belonged to a Spanish family. He was born in Rome, during the residence of his father there as senator, January 24, A.D. 76. When he was ten years old, his father died, and Trajan became his guardian. He received an excellent literary and physical education, with interests in many directions, and acquired considerable attainments in the plastic arts, in architecture, in mathematics and medicine, which would have won him a name among the artists and learned men of his age, if his career had not been turned to public life. In A.D. 91 he began his military service, and after Trajan's accession his rise was rapid. The Empress Plotina, who was childless, smoothed the way for him, and married him, in A.D. 100, to Julia Sabina, the granddaughter of Trajan's sister. Trajan appreciated the intellectual gifts and great administrative and military talents of his cousin; but



FIG. 48. — The Emperor Hadrian. Vatican. (From a photograph.)

the straightforward, plain soldier, with his strong character, could have little sympathy with Hadrian's scholarly and aesthetic tastes, and occasional pettiness, and put off again and again his adoption, though his last acts, after his return from Babylon, seemed to prepare for the principate of his cousin. The surroundings of the emperor were always favorable to Hadrian; the Empress Plotina zealously championed his interests, so that on August 9, A.D. 117, when Hadrian was at Antioch, he received from Selinus the announcement that Trajan had adopted him. The empress kept secret the death of the emperor from those about her, and on August 11 Hadrian received the news of Trajan's death. The Asiatic army at once proclaimed him imperator; and he, in the face of Jewish and Parthian wars, secured his position upon the throne with skill and determination.

Toward the senate he retained Trajan's respectful policy, excusing his irregular manner of acquiring the throne, on the ground that the legions could not remain without an emperor. His recognition followed at once. The army received more than double the usual donation. Whatever Hadrian's weakness may have been in affairs of state, he showed the skill, the clear political vision and force, of a great statesman. He was convinced that the Parthians were by no means equal to the Romans in war, but to retain the district of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which could never be fully Romanized, would require the expenditure of millions of money, and the employment of thousands of soldiers, without corresponding advantage, for the national spirit of the people was always hostile to the Romans. It was better to return to the policy of Augustus, to be satisfied with the lesson which Trajan had given the Parthians, and to limit the eastern boundary of the empire to the middle Euphrates. Assyria and Mesopotamia were therefore evacuated, and only the sovereignty over Armenia retained. Hadrian thus introduced the policy of developing to the utmost the defensive powers of the state, while avoiding new conquests as far as possible.

After the affairs of the East were again brought into tolerable order, the emperor hastened, toward the close of A.D. 117, to the Lower Danube, where the Sarmatian Roxolani were making forays into the plains of eastern Dacia. The display of force on the Pruth had its effect, and the Roxolani (Fig. 49) returned to friendly relations. But the emperor now received from Rome the alarming news that in his absence a dangerous conspiracy against his life had been discovered, headed by persons of importance, which was put down by the sum-

mary measures of the prefects of the guard, who arrested and executed the chief conspirators. This proceeding aroused deep discontent in Rome, where men watched the development of the new government with anxiety. In August, A.D. 118, Hadrian came to his Palatine palace. He remitted to the inhabitants of Italy all outstanding debts to the *fiscus* running back for a period of sixteen years, and caused



FIG. 49. — Group of Sarmatian cavalry. From the reliefs on the Column of Trajan, where the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribe, are represented as the allies of the Dacians. The cavalry, where both man and horse wear mail, are in flight before the Roman horse. One has fallen : another slips from his horse fatally wounded ; a third lets fly a 'Parthian shot' at his pursuers. (From Fröhner.)

the certificates of indebtedness to be burned in Trajan's Forum. The amount of the remission was about \$46,000,000. To the people of the provinces a considerable part of the back taxes was similarly remitted. To the senate Hadrian solemnly declared that the senators executed had been put to death without his order. He renewed his predecessor's promise of security, and ordered that the confiscated estates of condemned criminals should no longer come to the *fiscus*, but

to the aerarium. His subsequent treatment of the senate was full of consideration, although his government increased the monarchical character of the principate. Personally he was simple in his manners and free from formality, and he maintained his unconstrained intercourse with his friends in the senate, in the army, and among the scholars and artists around him.

During the larger part of his reign, often under considerable difficulties, Hadrian journeyed through all parts of the Roman state, commonly on foot. These travels were chiefly for political, agricultural, and military inspection. He wished to learn from personal observation the condition of the various provinces, their resources and capabilities, the character of their inhabitants, and the personnel of state officials, and to acquaint himself exactly with the condition of affairs on all the



FIG. 50. — Silver coin of Hadrian. Figure of GERMANIA with bared breast. Hadrian often struck coins referring to his visits to Germany. (Berlin.)

frontiers, and with the character of the great armies. Wherever he could, he gave encouragement and help; and he displayed extraordinary activity in building in almost all portions of the realm, being followed on his journeys by a small army of workmen, carpenters, masons, and architects. Hadrian left Rome for his first great journey probably April 21, A.D. 121, visiting the northern and northwestern provinces of the realm (Fig. 50), afterward Spain and

Mauretania, and finally the Orient and Greece, and returned to Rome by way of Sicily about the end of 126.

His stay in Britain, in A.D. 122, was very beneficial for the province. To strengthen its military defences, Hadrian caused the construction of a system of connected fortresses, of which extensive ruins still exist (Fig. 51), intended as a curb on the restless Brigantes and as an offensive basis against Scotland. Behind the castles built by Agricola in Scotland, Hadrian had a road built about seventy miles long, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Firth of Solway, defended on the north side by a massive wall, originally 16 feet high and 8 feet thick, faced on both sides with squared stone, and filled between with rubble and cement. In front ran a ditch 9 feet deep, and 34 feet wide at the top. On the south side the road was defended by two parallel earth walls, even now 6 or 7 feet high, between which ran a ditch seven feet deep, so that the structure from wall to wall had an extreme width of 24 feet. On the road itself, between the stone walls and the earth walls, and placed at intervals of not quite two hours' journey, were the

stations of cohorts, — castles capable of independent defence, with gates on all four sides. Between every two of these was a smaller structure of a similar kind, with gates toward the north and south, and again, between every two of these, four smaller watch-towers within calling distance of each other.

In Africa, Hadrian built a new fortress at Lambaesa. In the Orient he averted a new Parthian war by a personal negotiation with Chosroes. But the emperor gave his special interest to the Greek provinces, and was the great benefactor of the Hellenes.¹ No city rejoiced so highly in his favor as Athens, whither he came in A.D. 125, and from which he visited the districts and islands of Greece. He wished to restore the province of Achaia as far as it was still possible. And here



FIG. 51. — Hadrian's Wall in Northern England. Northern gate of the Roman Colony, *Borcovicium*. ("Illustrated London News," 1882.)

also we meet with great works of restoration, and with new structures such as the magnificent road across the Corinthian Isthmus and the aqueduct which brought to Corinth water from Stymphalus, a distance of forty-six miles. He encouraged, too, the institutions for philosophical and rhetorical study in Athens. Probably at this time he founded in the heart of Thrace, on the Hebrus, the great city of Hadrianopolis (*Adrianople*).

In A.D. 129 Hadrian undertook a second journey to the eastern provinces, from which he did not return till A.D. 134. At Athens he

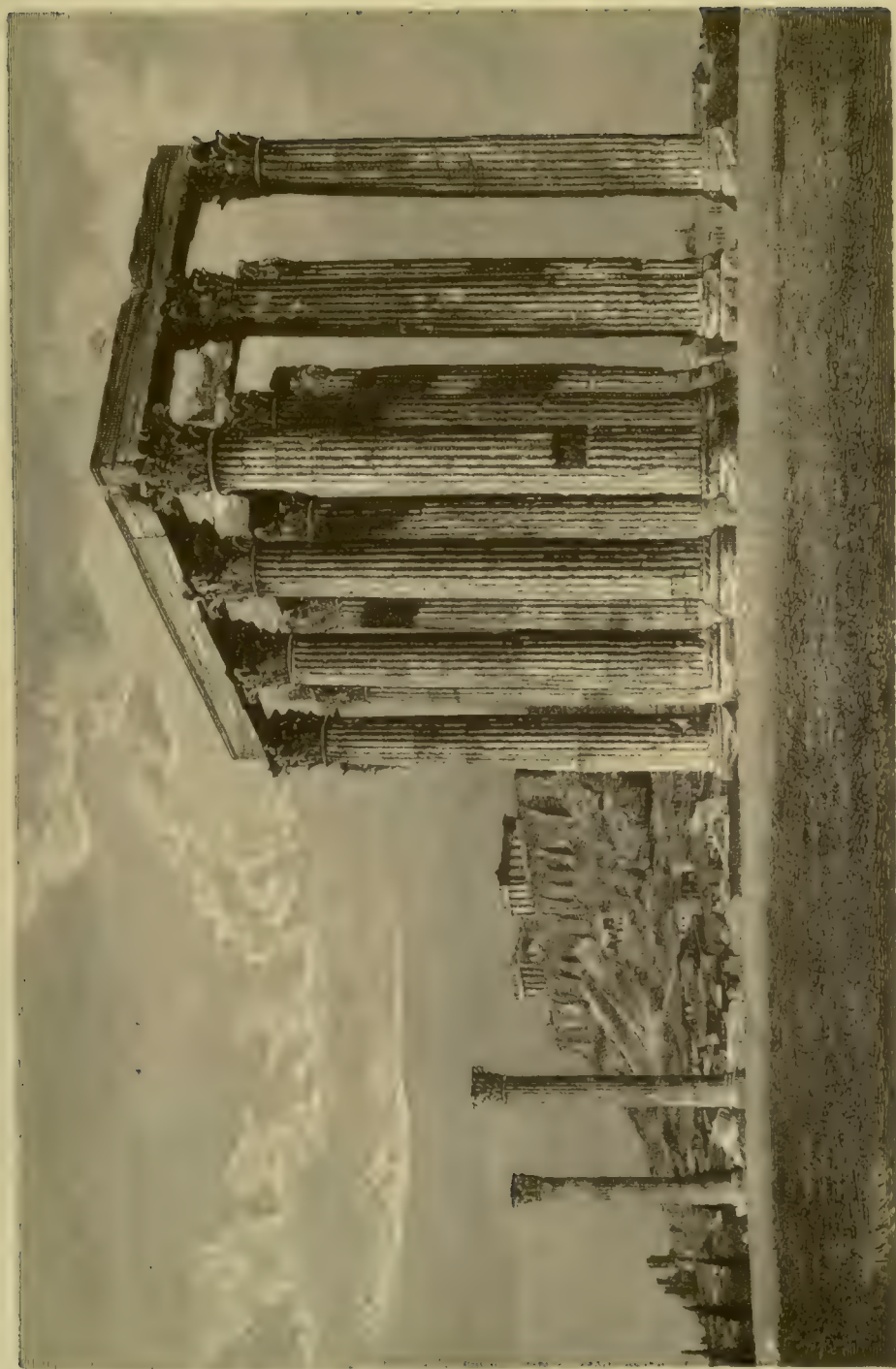
¹ In Bithynia he became acquainted with Antinoüs of *Claudiopolis*, who henceforth, as a favorite, became his constant companion, and whose graceful features have come down to us in many likenesses as a type of youthful beauty.

celebrated the completion of a mighty work, which from time immemorial had awaited completion, and now was to serve for the worship of Zeus and the glory of Athens, — the ‘Olympieum,’ — a mammoth temple of Olympian Zeus (PLATE X., Fig. 52), begun by the Pisis-tratids. It covered an area of 60,000 square feet. In this temple, consecrated in A.D. 129, the same priest directed the worship of Zeus and



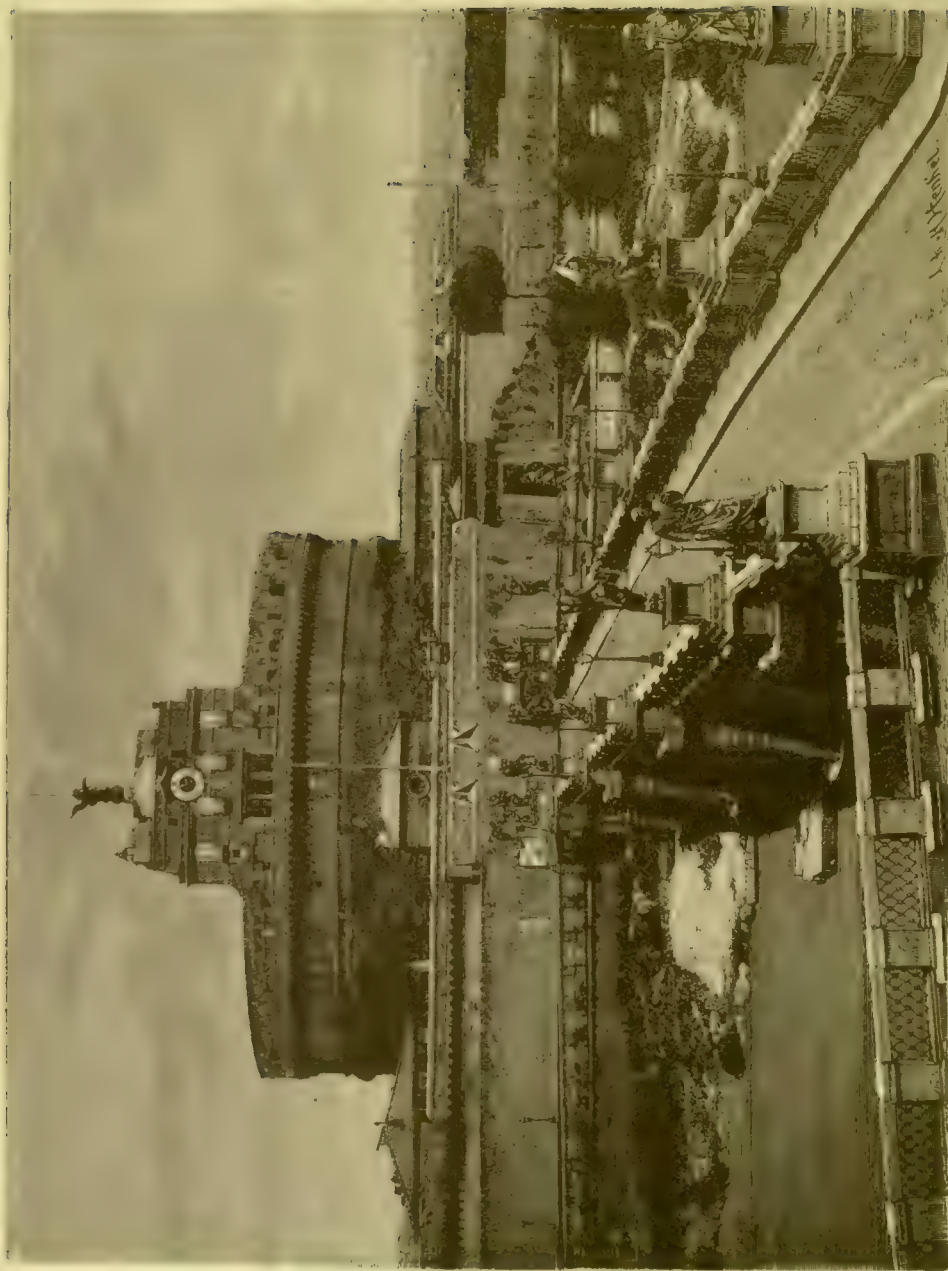
FIG. 52. — Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, restored by Hadrian: the Acropolis in the middle distance. (From a photograph.)

the Philhellenic emperor. Toward the Ilissus, Hadrian built a quarter for villas, erecting on the boundary of old Athens a splendid arch, which still stands. The Panhellenium, a temple of the Panhellenic Zeus, was intended to be the central point of the new national festival, which he founded and first celebrated in A.D. 129, the ‘Panhellenia,’ in which the Greeks of Hellas and of the colonies were equally



Remains of the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens. (From a photograph.)





Bridge and Castle of St. Angelo (Hadrian's Mausoleum) in Rome.
(From a photograph.)

to take part. In this way, in place of the shadowy Delphic Amphictyony, a new impulse was given to the national and religious sentiment of the Greeks; and Athens was again to regain its ancient splendor.

Thence Hadrian went to Alexandria, a centre of Greek learning and of practical and scientific studies, where he did not escape the malicious wit of the Alexandrians. On the drowning of Antinoüs (Fig. 53) in the Nile, in A.D. 130, as the story went, to save the emperor's life, Hadrian called into being a new worship for his dead favorite, whom the sculptor's art helped to immortalize. Two administrative measures again roused the Jews in Palestine, — the planting of a new colony, Aelia Capitolina, on the ruins of Jerusalem, and the forbidding of the practice of circumcision. Under the leadership of the priest, Eleazer of Modein, and the freebooter, Simon Bar-Cocheba, they began a war, which proved to be of great difficulty, and was marked on both sides by frightful cruelty. The legate, Sextus Julius Severus, took one stronghold after another, the last, Bethar, near Jerusalem, in A.D. 135. Henceforth there reigned in Judea — now 'Syria Palestina,' — the quiet of the grave. The Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem on pain of death, and the land was garrisoned with two legions.

Hadrian's buildings in Rome were the Temple of Venus and Rome (in A.D. 128), in the centre of the old city; the Mausoleum (PLATE XI.), to-day the Castle of St. Angelo, on the right bank of the Tiber, which served for himself and his family and for many of his successors, and in the Middle Ages and in modern times became the citadel of the seven-hilled city; and the splendid Aelian Bridge (Ponte St. Angelo), built of squared travertine, to connect the Mausoleum with the left bank. The traces of his villa at Tibur have a circuit of about six miles.

Though giving up his predecessor's policy of conquest, Hadrian did everything to render the army as effective as possible. He did not govern by decrees from the palace, but showed himself at any moment in the camps, where he examined all matters with practical knowledge. The officers' positions were filled solely on the grounds of personal ability and merit. The military system and the drill introduced by Hadrian were so effective that they were afterward adopted

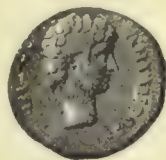


FIG. 53. — Antinoüs.
Bronze coin, inscribed
HPΘΣ ANTINOΟΣ.
(Imhoof-Blumer.)

by Constantine.¹ The tactics, under the stimulus of Greek studies and the costly experiences with barbarian peoples, were changed. The cavalry (Fig. 55) was taught all the manoeuvres of the Parthian, Sarmatian, and Celtic squadrons. In order to economize the costly legionary infantry (Fig. 54), the auxiliaries were placed in increas-



FIGS. 54 and 55. — Tombstones of Roman soldiers. At the left the tombstone of Pinteius, standard-bearer of the fifth cohort of the Asturii. He is represented in full armor. Over his tunic he wears a cuirass, and over the latter a tight-fitting coat of wool or leather. A belt bound with metal supports a sword and dagger. The helmet is covered by the skin of an animal whose claws are crossed on the breast of the figure. In his right hand he holds his standard, or signum. Found near Bonn; now in the Museum. At the right the tombstone of the Dalmatian Andes, member of the Claudian *ala*, or troop of cavalry. A rider in full armor, attended by a servant on foot, tramples upon a fallen foe. The trappings of the horse are well shown in the rude relief. (From Lindenschmit.)

ing numbers in the first line, and a system of strong reserve divisions established. The earlier practice, the system of the phalanx, the arrangement in close ranks, was restored. In battle the front of the

¹ Under Hadrian, and after him, in recruiting, the 'local conscription,' i.e., filling of the legions from the provinces in which they were stationed, became the fixed rule. Two evils resulted from it: the differences of the army corps were still more sharply defined, and the lands where no legions were quartered remained entirely free from levies.

legion was no longer broken by open spaces. The 'phalanx' was eight ranks deep. The soldiers armed with the *pilum* stood in the first four ranks; behind them, four other ranks carrying spears. A ninth rank consisted of auxiliaries, who shot arrows. The cavalry and the artillery found their place upon the wings and in the rear of the phalanx. Still farther in the rear stood a reserve of picked troops, who were to give assistance to any part that was hard pressed.

In the civil administration, Hadrian's reforms were still more extensive. In financial matters he was by far the best administrator the state had had since Tiberius. He removed oppressions, regulated on humane and equitable principles the burdens of the tax-payers, and even those of the free peasants and farmers living on the imperial domains. He administered directly many of the possessions of the *fiscus*, instead of farming their revenues. At his command, in A.D. 131-132, the great jurist, Salvius Julianus, made a systematic digest of the edicts of the praetors, that thus far had been arranged only in chronological order. Hadrian secured a resolution of the senate by which judicial officers were to make no additions to the law in their edicts; new cases were to be provided for by the analogy of existing law or by imperial 'constitutions.'¹ The law, by which, on the murder of a master, all the household slaves were executed, was done away with; and only such slaves as could possibly have had a share in the murder were examined.

Hadrian, as no emperor before him, advanced the equality of the provincials with the Romans of Italy. By conferring the 'Latin right' upon many cities, he smoothed the way for the extension of citizenship to the entire realm. In Italy he appointed a number of imperial justices, *juridici*, whose powers extended to matters of trusts, to appointing guardians, and to questions relating to eligibility to the decurionate. The municipal courts were not deprived of their functions; in fact, cases, except those of great importance, were withdrawn from the courts of the capital. Rome and its environs, for police purposes extended to a distance of 100 Roman miles, remained under the city courts. The advance in power of the imperial officials in the domain of penal law was very marked. The functions of the president of the police, and of the prefects of the guard, were extended at the expense of the old

¹ The 'rescripts' of the emperors became an important source of law. Concrete law cases were referred to the emperor for a rescript or written opinion. This had the force of an 'authentic interpretation,' and was decisive, so far as the point of law was concerned, not only for the particular case in question, but for all similar cases.

courts. These officers seemed to have been regularly intrusted with the administration of penal law in Italy, and a division of their province was made under Marcus Aurelius or Severus; Rome and its environs remaining under the president of the police; while beyond these limits was the jurisdiction of the prefects of the guard, who, as representing the personal interference of the emperor, had to be jurists of standing.

The custom of the emperors of calling about them as a 'Consilium' their friends and advisers, to give assistance in questions of law, became a fixed system. After Hadrian's time the members of the Consilium are regular paid councillors of the emperor, in whose appointment the emperor consulted the senate. The council had to administer law, and therefore contained many jurists by profession, the prefects of the guard, and the most important house and court officials, in particular the chief of the imperial chancery. The court offices were henceforth held by knights. The manager of the *fiscus*, now the minister of finance for the state, the procurator *a rationibus* ('of accounts'), took the highest position among the procurators in rank and salary. The more important lower financial positions gradually became filled by knights. The imperial chancery was divided into a Latin and a Greek section, each with its own chief; and the office for the reception of petitions and complaints came into the hands of officials of equestrian rank.

Hadrian, who had no issue, proposed to confer the succession on L. Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus, whom he adopted, — it is uncertain whether in A.D. 130 or 136, — and to whom he gave, in A.D. 136, the title of 'Caesar.' Verus died suddenly, January 1, A.D. 138. He had not been popular in Rome, nor had the emperor himself in his later years; for Hadrian, who deserves our admiration as a ruler, had his petty side. He was inclined to seek his glory in spheres, particularly in art, in which he could be only a dilettante, and in which his vanity and sensitiveness were easily wounded and his jealousy aroused. Those about him came to dread the sudden changes of humor and moodiness of the emperor, who became bitter and distrustful to the point of putting to death prominent men of whom he was suspicious. Nevertheless, he gave another proof of his intelligent and high-minded interest in the welfare of the state by adopting, in A.D. 138, as Caesar, Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus (Fig. 56), under the name of 'Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus.' The future emperor was born of a Gallic family, near Lanuvium in Latium, September 19, A.D. 86. He had already in many ways shown his worth as a high official, and as a political and judicial adviser in the council. With the elevation of

Antoninus, Hadrian proposed to secure the future of two younger men in whom he was interested, — the son of Verus, L. Aurelius Verus; and a relative of Hadrian, and nephew of the wife of Antoninus, Marcus Annius Verus, born in Rome, April 26, A.D. 121. At Hadrian's wish the latter was adopted by Antoninus along with the young Verus, and called henceforth Marcus Aelius Aurelius Verus.

Hadrian died, unhappy and weary of life, at Baiae, July 10, A.D. 138. Antoninus took his place, but had difficulty in inducing the irritated senate to deify Hadrian and to ratify the acts of his government. His piety toward his adoptive father gained for him the title of 'Pius.' In many ways the new government seemed a continuation of the preceding, though Antoninus by no means blindly held to the principles of Hadrian. He raised Marcus Aurelius to the rank of Caesar, gave him in marriage, in A.D. 146, his daughter, Faustina, and in A.D. 147 conferred upon him the tribunician and proconsular authority. The main feature of this government was quiet strength and security. He held fast to Hadrian's programme. The army was kept well disciplined and efficient. He was able to maintain a peace throughout the world, which recalled to his biographers the golden age of Numa. Yet the sword was drawn against those who troubled the quiet of the realm. The most important disturbance was on the northern boundary of Britain, between A.D. 140 and 145. At that time the legate Q. Lollius Urbicus constructed in Scotland a new line of fortresses thirty-seven miles long, across the isthmus between Clota and Bodotria. The fortification was a strong earth wall, with a ditch in front and a road behind, strengthened by small intrenched camps.¹

The ancients are unanimous in praise of the character of Antoninus, and the principles of his government. Benevolent and energetic, he was a favorite of the senate and the people. Exacting severity toward unworthy officials went hand in hand with appointment of able men, whom he had the happy faculty to find out and to retain for long periods in their places. His economic administration made it possible for him



FIG. 56. — Antoninus Pius. Copper coin, inscribed: ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS Pater Patriae TRibunicia Potestate COŇS III. (Berlin.)

¹ A grave-stone of a Roman soldier of the first Spanish cohort found near Ardoch, between Sterling and Perth, is the most northern inscribed monument of Roman times that appears to have been discovered.

to leave behind a treasure of 2,700,000,000 sesterces (\$140,000,000). The care of public education, which lay near his heart, made him encourage prominent cities, especially Athens, to enlarge their institutions of learning.

Amid the storms of the following times, the epoch of Antoninus seemed to the Romans their Golden Age. His memory was long cherished in Rome, like that of Augustus before him, and a long line of successors, down to Elagabalus, adorned themselves with his name. When, on March 7, A.D. 161, the aged emperor died, the government passed to Marcus Aurelius, who at once raised his adoptive brother, Lucius Verus, to the rank of Augustus and the position of colleague.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD IN THE SECOND CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

WITH the building of the Wall of Antoninus, in northern Britain, the Roman empire had reached its widest extent. In the west, south, and north new branches of the Roman nation had sprung up, which in the march of history were to take the place of the decaying peoples of the Mediterranean littoral.

Roman civilization spread with remarkable swiftness in the southern portions of Britain, where agriculture, trade, and mining flourished. Numerous remains of Roman villas have been found here. The baths at Bath and Cheltenham were much frequented; the greater part of the country was covered with towns, and the natives readily took to Roman manners and to the arts of peace. Britain produced great quantities of grain, and exported corn, cattle, and slaves to the markets of the continent; and its mines of tin, copper, iron, silver, and lead, and its wealth of coal, were even then put under contribution.

In Gaul, after the fearful demonstrations following Nero's downfall, the national opposition to the Romans was overcome.¹ Only in Armorica did the Celtic character remain unmixed, though in large parts of Belgium the civilization was only on the surface. Narbonensis could be regarded as a piece of Italy. Auvergne, the country of the Haedui, and the lands on the Garonne, were thoroughly Romanized; while farther north the process was less complete. Lyons, under the Antonines, counted a population of 250,000 souls. Trade and industries flourished, chief among them the manufacture of glass, paper, and cloth. The corporation of navigators of the Rhone and the Saône stood in high esteem. The wine industry was important, though the cultivation of the vine extended up the Rhone only after the middle of the first century of the empire; and not till Probus did it spread to the Garonne, Loire, Seine, and Moselle. The ancient city of Massilia, which still held fast to its Greek language in the third cen-

¹ Remains of Roman civilization in Gaul are illustrated by Figs. 57-63.

ture, with its commerce, its ship-building, its manufacture of arms, was at the same time a seat of learning — where the sons of the Celtic nobility studied rhetoric, philosophy, and medicine, and from which



FIG. 57. — Types of Gallic and Romano-Gallic Coins. 1. Copper coin, with figures of a horse and a boar. On Gallic coins the boar is a symbol of the Gallic tribes. 2. Silver coin of Epadnactus, a chieftain of the Arverni, before his subjection. 3. Silver coin of the same, after his subjection. 4. Gold coin of Vercingetorix, a chieftain of the Arverni. 5. One of the oldest specimens of Gallic coinage, noteworthy for the type on the reverse, a bird and horse, which is not found elsewhere, and probably is the expression of some mythological conception. 6. Copper coin of Romano-Gallic colonies, with a sort of handle representing a boar's leg; a unique phenomenon in numismatics, found only at the sacred springs at Nîmes, and therefore probably a votive offering made to the divinity of the place. Minted at Nîmes. 7. Roman copper coin struck at Lyons. On the reverse the prow of a ship, under which is the word *COPIA*, an ancient name of Lyons. (*Revue archéol.*; *Ann. arch.* vi.)

teachers of every kind spread over Gaul — and a great centre of the plastic arts. Narbo, the oldest of the Roman settlements, was a flourishing commercial city, and manufactured cloth, crimson dye, and iron.

Nemausus (Nîmes), the second city of Narbonensis, possessed an amphitheatre (Fig. 62), with a diameter of 437 feet, which would seat



FIG. 58. — Gallic bronze helmets, found in tombs. (*Revue archéol.*)

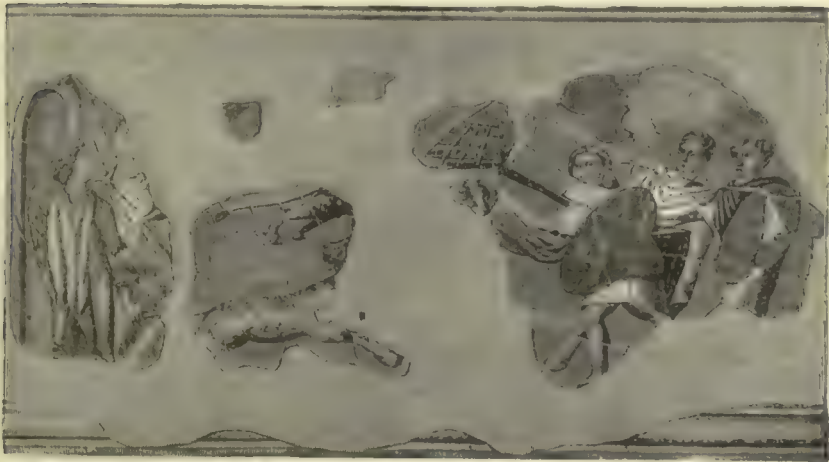


FIG. 59. — Remains of a Roman mural painting at Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne, France).
A leopard-hunt. (*Gaz. archéol.*, 1878.)

18,000 persons ; and a splendid forum on whose southern side, upon a raised platform, still stands a Corinthian temple (*Maison Carrée*, Fig. 63), while an immense aqueduct with three tiers of arches (now called

Pont du Gard) crossed the neighboring river. Other thriving towns of southern Gaul were Burdigala (Bordeaux), at the mouth of the Garonne, the most important port on the Atlantic for the trade with Britain, and Tolosa (Toulouse), at the head of the river navigation, to which the goods from the Mediterranean were carried in wagons.



FIG. 60. — Bas-relief upon a sarcophagus of the second century, found at Arles. Centaurs in combat with a lion. (Marseilles, Museum.)



FIG. 61. — Reliefs upon an ancient Christian sarcophagus of marble, of about the fourth century. (Arles, Museum.) At the extremities the Dioscuri — Castor and Pollux — are represented. They seem to betoken the fidelity of the husbands and wives in the two central groups; the beardless male figures at our left indicate a union formed in youth; the figures at the right indicate a later stage of life; and the clasped hands and general attitude of parting evidently symbolize the separation occasioned by the death of one of the persons represented, whose body was laid in this sarcophagus. (Gaz. archéol., 1878.)

In Spain the Italian and Celtiberian peoples exhibited another type of Roman civilization. Even in Augustus's time the south and east were as fully Latinized as Gallia Narbonensis. In the northwestern half the change was slower, but the Spanish peninsula became Roman land much more completely than Gaul. By Nero's time Latin was the

language of the towns, and the old national tongue gradually died out. In A.D. 75 Vespasian was able to confer the Latin right upon the whole



FIG. 62. — Ruins of the amphitheatre at Nîmes. (From a photograph.)



FIG. 63. — The Maison Carrée, a Corinthian temple at Nîmes. (From a photograph.)

country. There was a busy urban life; excellent roads, fine bridges, and canals opened the way into the interior, the west, and the north-west for the advance of agriculture, mining, and trade, and carried



FIG. 64.



FIG. 65.



FIG. 66.



FIG. 67.

FIG. 68.¹

¹ Figs. 64-69 are mosaics from the Roman villa at Nennig, near Treves.

The villa in which these mosaics were discovered, in 1853, was built in the time of Hadrian. The mosaics formed part of the pavement of the large *atrium*, or central court, and were grouped about a running fountain; they were connected with each other by arabesques, meander, and other patterns of ornamentation.

The scenes represented are taken from the amphitheatre.

The first octagon (Fig. 64) depicts the close of the first part of the *venatio*; a lion with a long mane has caught and nearly devoured a wild ass (*onager*), and is now to be conducted by his aged keeper to his cage. The old slave is in festal garb; he carries no weapon but a wand, and wears a short white tunic and sandals.

The second scene (Fig. 65) is a combat with wild beasts. Three fighters, of southern origin if we may judge from their swarthy complexion, are struggling with a bear, who has already prostrated one of their number. The latter seeks to protect himself with his shield. Their only weapons are a long whip and a narrow shield; they wear a short-sleeved jacket, breeches, long striped leggings, sandals, and a wide belt.

Next (Fig. 66) we see the close of a combat between a spearman and a panther. The victor greets the spectators with raised right hand. The wounded panther breaks the lance with which he had been disabled.

The *venatio* usually closed with a sportive scene, before the chief features of the festival, the gladiatorial fights, were entered upon. Here (Fig. 67) we see two contestants assailing each other with harmless weapons. Each carries a sort of shield-like cushion on



(Fig. 69)

his left arm, from which transversely projects, probably held in the left hand, a staff; one is armed with a cane, the other with a whip. The shorter man is naked to the waist.

In the quadrangular field in the centre (Fig. 68) we see the supreme moment of the festival. Two gladiators, a *retiarius* and a *mirmillo*, are fighting, while the *lanista* superintends. The latter is a Roman; his hair is short in Roman fashion; he wears the white tunic, and shoes. He carries an official wand in his left hand, while with his right he gives signs to the contestants. The *retiarius*, by reason of his size and long hair, has been regarded as a German, and the *mirmillo* as a Gaul. Both are naked; a waist-cloth and stuffed leggings give them slight protection. The *retiarius* carries the trident — a lance with three prongs — and a dagger. His left arm and neck are protected, the former by some wrappings, the latter by a curved surface. The *mirmillo* is more fully shielded; a helmet covers his head and neck, a long semi-cylindrical shield his body; his left leg and his right arm and shoulder are well padded. He probably carried a short sword.

The last of the medallions shows that the contests were accompanied by music. We have here a trumpeter and an organ-player, with their instruments. The trumpet is of the usual form, bent into a semi-circle, the sides held together by a lance-like cross-piece; the tube is of silvered metal, and the mouth-piece and the other extremity are gilded.

The picture of the organ Fig. 69. is of especial interest, as all other representations of this instrument in ancient art, on coins, merely give hints about it. It is the water-organ, *hydraulus*, invented, about 140 B.C., by Ctesibius of Alexandria, and was used at public games and other festal occasions. The *hydraulus* consists of three principal parts: First, the area, the air-chest, in this picture a box with six vertical sides; the air and water were kept in it; and at both sides we see the pumps with iron handles used to fill the organ with compressed air. The water served to temper and modulate the force of the blasts which streamed from the bellows into the pipes with varying intensity. The second principal feature was a sort of key-board, with keys, stops, and channels, whereby the air was checked, turned on, and distributed. The pipes, which were of different

hither the products of civilization. The rivers Baetis and Anas became commercial highways. In Corduba, Bilbilis, and Tarraco were excellent educational institutions.

Upon the soil of Africa the masses of the settled population, especially in Carthage and the many towns, quickly succumbed to Roman influences. Carthage was a copy of Rome. The fiscus and the owners of the great estates, by a system of plantation cultivation, drew great gains from cattle, corn, oil, wine, and the finer fruits of the south. The wild beasts of the desert were captured for the amphitheatre, and the forests of the interior were traversed in search of ivory and slaves.

The left bank of the Rhine, the valley of the Moselle, the land along the Lower Main and the Upper Rhine, were civilized by the Romans much more completely than the more distant Belgium. Under the protection of the great fortresses, a multitude of flourishing municipal communities sprang up: on the Lower Rhine, Colonia Agrippinensis, founded in 51 A.D. by

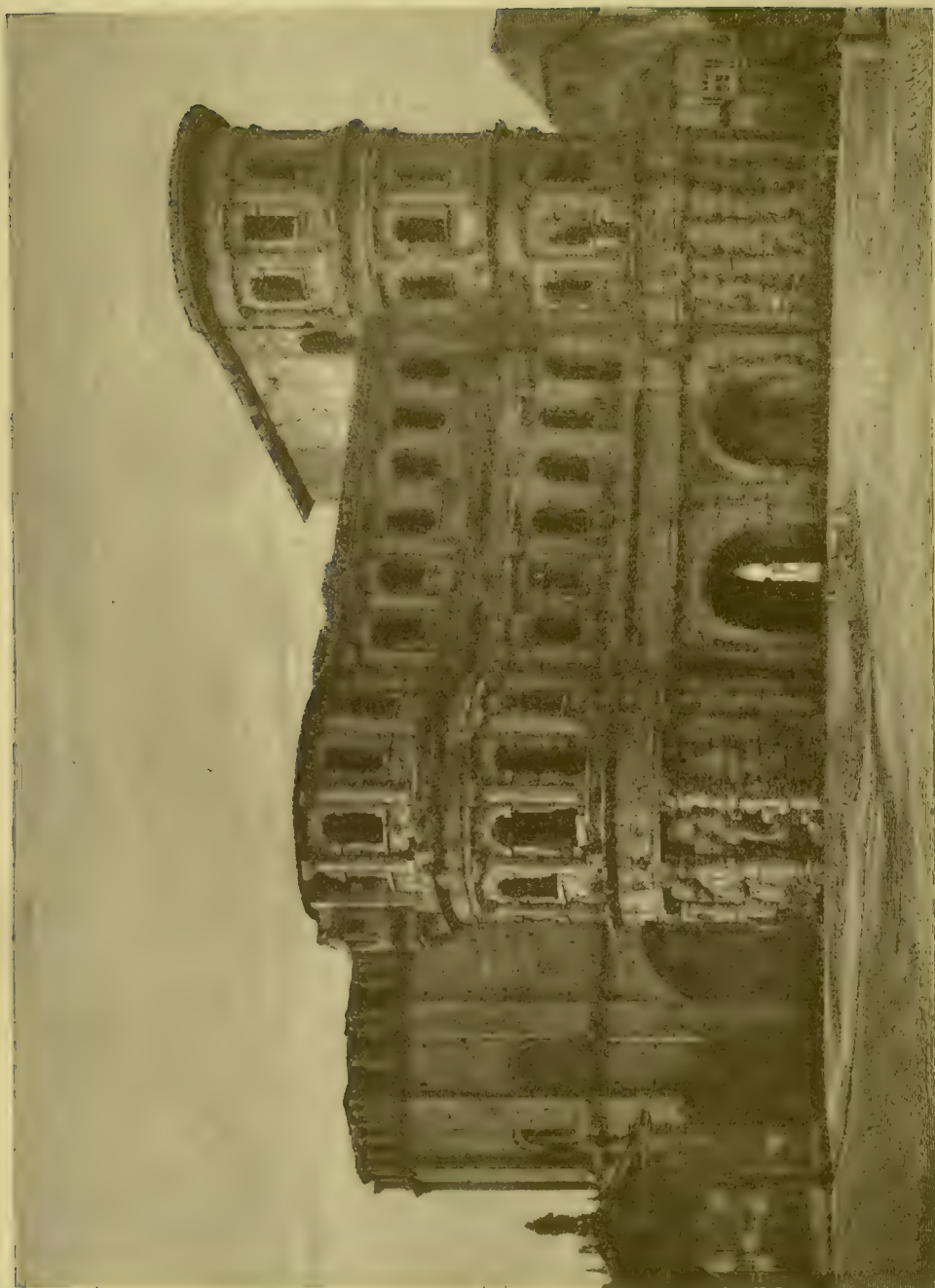
lengths, constituted the third and last chief feature. The organ was as a rule made of bronze. The organist stands behind his instrument, and pumps with his feet. The trumpeter (*cornicen*) stands at his side; his long garment which hangs from his neck, and has short sleeves, turns into trousers which reach to his knees; a broad blue band floats from his shoulders.



FIG. 70. — The Igel monument (of the family of the Secundini) at Treves. (From a photograph.)

The stones used in the mosaic are of various sizes and materials (marble, limestone, baked clay, and glass). The colors are numerous, — black, gray, white, vermillion, purplish-red, violet, blue, green, yellow, orange, and brown. (From von Wilmowsky.)





The Porta Nigra at Treves: exterior view. (From a photograph.)

Claudius, and named in honor of his wife; on the Moselle, Treves, where, perhaps in the first century, was erected the *Porta Nigra* (PLATE XII.); and on the Middle Rhine, Mayence. The baths of Wiesbaden, *Aquae Mattiacae*, were visited by many; and the iron deposits as far as Saalburg were utilized. Villas with their mosaic pavements (Figs. 64-69) were common in these border countries; and the cities and houses were ornamented with sculptures. To the time of Trajan belongs the famous 'Igel Column,' near Treves (Fig. 70). The development of southwestern Germany followed somewhat more slowly; yet even here Roman civilization gained ground. In Rhaetia, *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg), on the Lech, became important as the meeting-point of several great roads. Under Hadrian it became a *municipium*. Along the Danube, as on the Rhine, at the fortified stations of Roman troops, towns arose. In Noricum, under Claudius and Hadrian, settlements were made, attracted by the great deposits of gold and silver.



FIG. 71. — From the reliefs on Trajan's Column. Dacians, with the serpent, their national symbol. The serpent, made in several sections of different colors, and suspended on a staff, catches the wind in its open jaws, and seems a thing of life. (From Fröhner.)

On the Lower Danube, the importance of the land arose from its agricultural products and the military qualities of the Illyrian and Dalmatian inhabitants, who made the best soldiers in the army, and who produced later the heroic emperors and generals, from Claudius Gothicus to Valentinian I. and Aetius. A lively river commerce grew up on the Danube and the Inn; and even the Save, Laibach, and Drave were used.

From the possession of Dacia (Fig. 71) the state gained a mighty mountain fortress, blocking the passage from the plains of central and eastern Europe to the Danube, and a rich mining-district. Dacia was

the gold country of the time. Sarmizegethusa, the capital of the Dacians, became the centre of an Italian civilization.

It was through the newly Romanized peoples in different parts of the empire that from the third century the existence of the state was chiefly preserved.

There was a constant intercourse and commerce between the capital and the borders of the empire. Settled peace, the able and benevolent administration, the public security, and a uniform state coinage, produced everywhere beneficial effects. The brutal sports of the amphi-



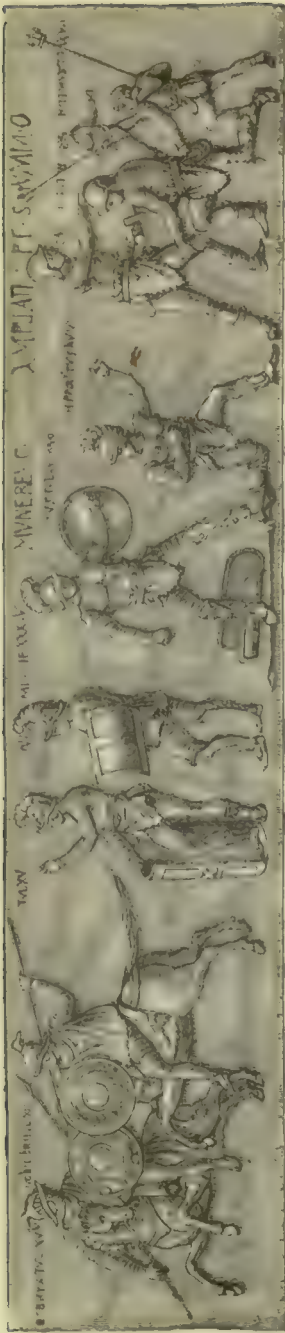
FIG. 72. — Bestiarii contending with wild animals; in the background the Theatre of Marcellus. Bas-relief. (Mon. ined. dell' Inst. arch.)

theatre (Figs. 72-74) also followed Roman sway. In the wake of the legions went everywhere the architect, who built an arena with its tiers of seats (PLATE XIII.). Only the inhabitants of Greece held aloof from this phase of Roman civilization.

The desire for travel developed greatly. In the second century Hellenes did not shrink from journeys to Arabia, India, and Britain. In the funeral ceremonies the consumption of Indian and Arabian perfumes was enormous; the urns for the ashes, and the sarcophagi for the tombs, made of rare kinds of stone or of glass, were exceedingly costly. The fashion of erecting massive monuments to the dead stead-



The Amphitheatre at Verona. (From a photograph.)



FIGS. 73, 74.¹ — Conflicts of Gladiators in the Amphitheatre. Bas-reliefs from the enclosing wall of the 'Tomb of Scaurus,' at Pompeii. (Museo Borbonico.)

¹ The first group represents two *equites* (*andabatae*), finely attired, engaged in conflict. In the second group one contestant, wounded, rests his shield on the ground, and by his uplifted hand appeals to the spectators for mercy. His opponent, however, awaits the continuation or the cessation of the fray. In the next couple one member, wounded in the breast, falls on his knees and sues for mercy; but his opponent stands ready to give the death blow. The following group is full of action. The spectators have refused to pity the vanquished gladiator, who, with hand clasping the knee of his foe, begs for his life; his opponent, however, smites him down, crowding him to the ground with his right hand. An attendant, armed with a trident (*fuscina*), stands behind the victim to prevent him from escaping or defending himself; it will be his duty to remove the dead body from the arena and close upon it the *porta libitinaensis*. In the lower scene are duels between contestants variously armed, the so-called 'Thracians' and 'Sannites.'

ily grew, not only in Rome, but in Italy and the provinces. The construction of richly furnished villas, after the Italian model, with magnificent parks and gardens, arranged to give artistic form to nature, in combination with architecture, spread to all parts of the empire. The sanitary undertakings of the Romans were admirable. Their aqueducts at the end of the first century—and others were added in the third—daily brought into the city of Rome 396,000,000 gallons of water, which made it possible to supply the many and often immense cold and warm baths (Figs. 75, 76). At the end of the third cen-

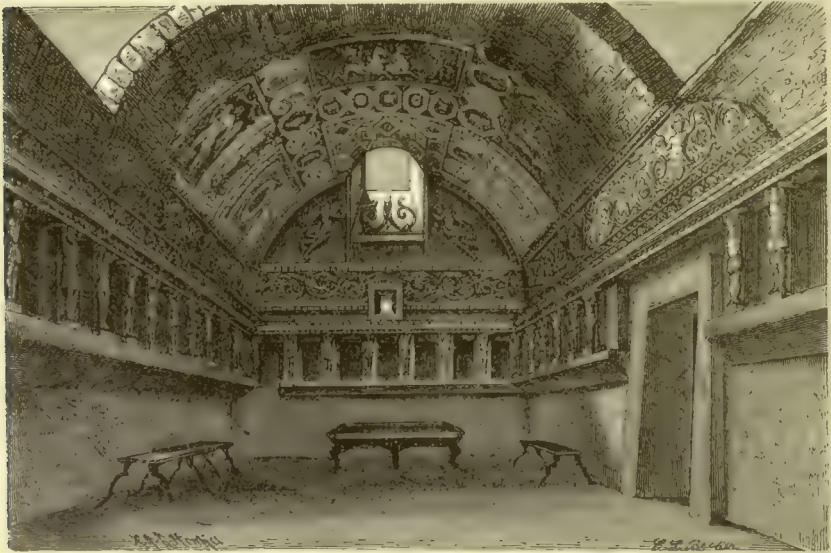


FIG. 75. — Interior of the Tepidarium, in the Baths at Pompeii.
(From Gell and Gaudy.)

tury there were 856. Rome abounded in evidences of luxury and a taste for art (Figs. 77–79).

After Nero's fall, a reaction began in literature against the artificial rhetoric of the preceding age. The transition to the Flavian period is marked by the most productive and most diligent writer of this century, Caius Plinius Secundus, commonly known as the Elder Pliny, who was born A.D. 23, at Novumcomum, and perished in the great eruption of Vesuvius, August 24, A.D. 79, where, as admiral of the fleet at Misenum, he was trying to make careful observations of the phenomenon. Of great versatility and astonishing activity, he wrote on tactics, contemporary history, grammar, rhetoric, and natural science. We possess only his great work on natural history (*Naturalis Historia*), in thirty-seven

books, a compilation from 2000 works of hundreds of writers, which he dedicated to Titus in A.D. 77. It was intended to contain all that was then known of geography, zoölogy, botany, and mineralogy, methods of healing, and the history of art, and was written, whenever the material allowed, in accordance with the rhetorical taste then prevalent. It is one of the most important of our literary sources of information as to the history of Greek art, both sculpture and painting. A change was brought about by a great prose writer in the time of Domitian, M. Fabius Quintilianus, born at Calagurris, in Spain, between A.D. 35 and 42. Quintilian followed Galba to Rome in A.D. 68, and there founded a school of rhetoric; but only in later years did he appear as a writer, when, after A.D. 90, he published his great work in twelve books on the training of the orator (*De Institutione Oratoria*), including the knowledge of language. 'Critics regard it as a work of "fine discrimination and sound judgment, simple in conception and presentation, learned without tediousness, and graceful without affectation."' Quintilian, who did not live beyond A.D. 97, directed his criticisms against the style represented by Seneca, and recommended a return to the models of the classic period, to Cicero in particular.

Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, the nephew and adopted son of the elder Pliny, was born in A.D. 61 or 62, at Novumcomum, and lived in close relations to Nerva and Trajan, served in official positions, and died soon after the close of his Bithynian governorship, in A.D. 111-113. We possess his panegyric on the Emperor Trajan, delivered in the senate on receiving the consulship, nine books of letters, published between A.D. 97 and 108, and his correspondence with Trajan. Taking



FIG. 76. — The Baths at Pompeii.

Apartments for Men.	Apartments for Women.
A. Court (Ambulatio).	F. Caldarium.
C. Frigidarium.	G. Tepidarium.
B. Apodyterium.	H. Apodyterium.
D. Tepidarium.	J. Piscina.
E. Caldarium.	

Quintilian and Cicero as models, he wrote in a smooth and easy style. The last great historian that Rome produced, P. Cornelius Tacitus, was born, probably in A.D. 54, at Rome, and, beginning the customary

course of office under Vespasian, held the consulship in A.D. 97. He may have lived till the accession of Hadrian. His chief works — the “Histories,” covering the time from A.D. 69 to the death of Domitian, and the “Annals,” embracing the history of Rome from the death of Augustus to the end of A.D. 68 — belong to the later years of Trajan. The “Histories” were first published, the “Annals” between A.D. 115 and 117. With allowance for literary and political failings, Tacitus is one of the purest and noblest figures of



FIG. 77. — Hydria. Silver, partially gilded. From the objects discovered at Hildesheim.

this period and of all time. He was a Roman, the son of a world-conquering people; and the fate of the city and of Roman and Italian society was to him the most important point in the history of the state.

The prejudices of the higher classes of Rome had a marked effect upon his judgment. His desire was to be always true and just; yet his strictness in critical investigation, as is general among the ancients, was inferior to the practice of modern writers; and from his gloomy picture of the early empire, especially for the reign of Tiberius,

we cannot always reach the conclusions which he does. His style is rich in thought, and is characterized, especially in the “Annals,” by a forced condensation. A master of characterization, in him Roman his-



FIG. 78. — Drinking-cup with six masks. Silver, partially gilded. From the objects discovered at Hildesheim.

toriography reached its highest point. Caius Suetonius Tranquillus (A.D. 75–160), long a minister of Hadrian, filled his leisure with literary work, after the manner of Varro. His collection of biographies of the emperors from Caesar to Domitian, written in A.D. 120, is succinct, clear, and correct in statement, simple in language, but lacks political breadth, psychological discrimination, and a high standard of morals.



FIG. 79. — Vase of the Dea Roma. From the objects discovered at Hildesheim. (Berlin.)

The historian Florus, who lived under Hadrian, wrote in a declamatory style an epitome of Roman history to the time of Augustus, which is mainly taken from Livy.

After Hadrian, Roman prose begins to change. The grammarians, and the representatives of mere learning, and the African writers with their variations of Latin idiom (the 'African Latinity'), marked by a local and even Semitic character, became prominent. The juridical

writers, on the other hand, are the representatives of a purer taste in literary form.

The African, M. Cornelius Fronto, of Cirta (A.D. 90 to 168), urged a return to models like Plautus, Ennius, Cato, Gracchus, Lucretius, Sallust, and, usually with little judgment or taste, interspersed words and phrases from these old writers in his works, employing an involved and artificial style. The best known of his many pupils is the renowned pedant, Aulus Gellius (about A.D. 125–175), author of the *Noctes Atticae*, a collection of literary and antiquarian gossip. The rhetorician Lucius Apuleius, from Madaura in Numidia (born about A.D. 125), who lived under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, published eleven books of *Metamorphoses*, a satirical romance of Greek coloring, marked by facile diction, grotesqueness of form, lack of literary taste, and superfluity of rhetorical figures, though it has a great liveliness and surprising originality.

The jurists, of whom this is the classic age, labored to perfect the forms of law, and to lay down its definitions with clearness and exactness. Under Hadrian, the most influential was Salvius Julianus, of Hadrumetum, who collected the edicts of the praetors, sifted and published them in proper arrangement, and who also published independent legal works. Prominent as the first of the five ‘classic’ jurists was Gaius, of Rome (A.D. 110–180), born in the Grecian East, who was an eminent teacher in Rome, perhaps under Hadrian, a faithful writer and editor of the four books of “Institutes,” which were published probably in A.D. 161.

The epic poets were C. Silius Italicus (A.D. 25–101), who completed under Domitian an epic in seventeen books on the Second Punic War; the Neapolitan, P. Papinius Statius (A.D. 45–96), who in the *Thebais* used his art upon the ancient Greek legend of the Seven against Thebes, and in the incomplete *Achilleis* on the story of Achilles. He also published thirty-one occasional poems (*Silvae*), which are valuable as pictures of the time. The Spaniard, M. Valerius Martialis, of Bilbilis (A.D. 42–102), whose fifteen books of epigrams show uncommon poetic gifts, ease, and elegance, lived in Rome from A.D. 64 to 98, and used his poetry to gain a livelihood, choosing his subjects almost exclusively from the grosser side of the social relations of Rome. In strong contrast to him stands the satirist, D. Junius Juvenalis, of Aquinum (A.D. 47–130), who was made a poet by the sternness of his character, and his scorn at the moral degeneracy of his contemporaries. In his five books of satires Juvenal lashes the follies and social vices of his contemporaries.

During the long peace of the empire literature again blossomed on the soil of Greece; while, with increase in material prosperity, the higher education received new life. Athens grew not only as an educational centre, and a favorite goal of travel, but as a place of commerce and industry. Hadrian was followed in his labors for Athens by an eminent Athenian, a man of enormous wealth, who employed his resources zealously and munificently in the interest of his countrymen. This was Herodes Atticus, or Herod of Marathon, born A.D. 101, a renowned professor of rhetoric in Athens, teacher and friend of Marcus Aurelius. His chief work in Athens was the Odeum, or covered theatre (Fig. 80), still remaining in part, which he constructed after A.D. 161 on the southwest slope of the Acropolis.

The trade and industry of Asia and the Hellenic lands developed



FIG. 80. — Ruins of the theatre of Herodes Atticus at Athens. (From a photograph.)

marvellously, and in many branches of business the East possessed a monopoly. Egypt was famed for the manufacture of fine linen and dyeing of patterns, and Alexandria for its skill in the weaving of stuffs and the manufacture of glass. Phoenicia was renowned for fine glassware, and Tyre remained pre-eminent for the manufacture of purple dyes. But commerce was the chief source of wealth to the Greek lands, and gave new life to their harbors and cities, as stations on the way to Italy. Greek was the language of commerce as far as the Jaxartes and India, and at the same time became the language of the church in the new Christian world. Otherwise, however, Greek influence was bounded by the Euphrates. Within the realm, though the government vigorously promoted Greek interests, it was difficult to assimilate the Semitic peoples

and the Egyptians. In Syria a stubborn opposition among the lower classes, the Aramaeans, especially in the country, continued down to the conflicts of the Christians and to the storm of Islam, but the upper classes became Hellenized far into Roman Arabia, and finally the peoples of Asia Minor, even the rude Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, were made into thorough Greeks. A strong and permanent influence was exerted by the Greek element, which meets us in the Roman West in all possible forms, and throughout the realm, now and later, in the Greek literary impulse. Once again the Grecian world produced great writers; the academies of Alexandria and many cities of Asia Minor flourished, and Athens gained a new reputation as the home of the Muses. Men like Dio Chrysostom of Prusa (died A.D. 117), a Stoic philosopher, and a productive political writer; like the historian Appian of Alexandria, the contemporary of Hadrian and Antoninus, who narrated Roman history in the form of a series of pictures down to the imperial time; and like Arrian of Nicomedia, a contemporary of Hadrian and both Antonines, the historian of Alexander the Great, are the equals of the ablest Roman writers, Tacitus alone excepted. The most attractive literary personage among the Hellenes of the first century, a most productive, effective, and charming writer of moral, historical, and philosophico-religious works, was Plutarch of Chaeronea, born probably in A.D. 46.

Alexandria retained the supremacy among the seats of Greek culture till the time of Antoninus Pius. Here, besides philosophical, grammatical, philological, and rhetorical studies, the exact sciences especially flourished. Its schools of mathematics and medicine enjoyed a world-wide reputation, and here lived the great astronomer and geographer of the ancient world, Claudius Ptolomaeus, in the middle of the second century. Athens, on the other hand, was the home of the development of taste, the 'Later Sophistry.' With the beginning of the second century the Greeks, first in Asia Minor, succeeded in rediscovering the 'art of eloquence,' which had disappeared with the downfall of Athens. These new rhetoricians, to whom the old name of Attic teachers was given as a term of honor, the Later Sophists, who no longer wished to be mere teachers of school rhetoric, were essentially actors. With them theatrical effect and sensation was the main object, and their polished productions were empty oratorical pieces. Through them the sermon, or scholarly homily, came to be regarded as a necessary element in many of the functions of the Christian church. This new tendency gained such preponderance that the other sciences, even medicine, and hardly excepting jurisprudence, were forced to clothe themselves in the dress of rhetoric. Many of these teachers

lectured as they travelled through the Greco-Roman world; others had fixed residences and a recognized position. The objects of their ambition were the great professorships in Athens, those in the 'Athenaeum,' a school established by Hadrian in Rome, and the position at the head of the emperor's Greek department of justice. In the schools of these professors of oratory were obtained the technique of eloquence in its highest artistic form, the greatly prized practice in improvisation, and a varied literary, aesthetic, philological, and historical training. Smyrna in Asia Minor was an early centre of the new art. When it established itself in Athens in the time of Hadrian, Lollianus of Ephesus and Herod of Marathon were the first to gain renown as 'Sophists.' At the instigation of Antoninus Pius, Athens established the first paid professorship, which was held by Lollianus; under Marcus Aurelius the Attic schools were so regulated that they became, as it were, an imperial university. He established an imperial professorship of eloquence, and on visiting the city in A.D. 176 provided means for the other studies then pursued. The four schools of philosophy were formally recognized and received support from the fiscus. One teacher of each, Platonic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean, was to receive the same salary as the professor of eloquence. To Athens flocked great companies of young men, who eagerly studied the new rhetoric of display. We find that at last scarcely a country of the realm, or any one of its civilized neighbors, failed in representation among the academic youth of Athens.

The later generations of the ancient world regarded the time from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius as the Golden Age of the state, but the contemporaries of Antoninus Pius without doubt surmised that the end of these palmy days was not far distant. This Golden Age covered a condition of irremediable decay, which could be done away with only by the appearance of new forces, which were to destroy ancient civilization and Rome itself. Morals were at a very low ebb. The games of the amphitheatre and the numerous theatrical executions had a most demoralizing influence. With the widespread and growing immorality, especially in the cities, numberless crimes became common,—robbery, murder, shameless plundering of temples, perjury, poisoning, fraud. Honest sentiments disappeared, violence in litigation became common. The resources of the ancient world were insufficient to check these offences; and the ruder elements that came in, especially from the Romanized barbarians, brought with them a tendency to disregard the law, and helped to increase the cruelty of Roman penal justice. Philosophy, to be sure, particularly in its Platonic and Stoic forms,

exercised a morally elevating influence upon some educated men, but upon the masses it had no effect. As little was the ancient religion adapted to meet the moral decay.

Religion, however, was not then in the process of dissolution. It was rather a period of new life for the ancient worship. Important persons, like the Neo-Pythagorean Apollonius of Tyana in the first century, and the Platonist Plutarch, strove to revive and spiritualize the old faith, and to elevate morality. There was a manifest reaction against destructive influences and against actual atheists, who were not common outside of the Epicurean school. Only the sophist Lucian of Samosata (born about A.D. 120), the most talented Greek writer of the second century, ridiculed with biting satire the gods as worshipped in his time. The mystical worships of the East, especially those of Isis and the sun-god Mithras (Fig. 81), spread rapidly. But by far the most important feature of the religious history of the time is the steady progress of Christianity. Down to Nero's time the mission of the apostles was limited to the eastern half of the empire and to Rome itself. Jerusalem and Antioch in Syria, Alexandria, and several cities in Asia Minor, were the first centres of the new religion. In A.D. 53 and 54 St. Paul established churches at Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens, and Corinth. In Rome the first Christian community arose, probably without an apostolic foundation, out of the large Jewish synagogue there, which was early stirred by the influences of Christianity. It doubtless consisted of heathen proselytes to Judaism and of a small fraction of Jews. In Gaul, Christian communities early arose in Lyons and Vienne.

During the first century the Christian 'community,' which retained for several generations its original democratic organization, had the task of composing strifes between converts from Judaism and those from heathenism, of overcoming separatist tendencies, and of holding its members fast to the practice of the morality demanded by their religion. Enthusiasm and a living faith made it the duty of the Christians to announce to the world the new doctrine of salvation. The example of the first apostles kindled an increasing number of followers, who, in accordance with the precept of the Gospel, divided their substance with the poor, and taking the pilgrim's staff carried the word of God from land to land with an undaunted zeal. The new doctrine — which touched at so many points the philosophical, theological, ethical, and humane ideas that were then accepted by the intellectual and moral circles of society; which met the longing of countless

souls for salvation and immortality; which, instead of an abstract divinity with harsh laws and gloomy or fantastic mysteries, made known a God of love and salvation, before whom all human creatures, poor and rich, high and low, were equal; which declared with undoubting certainty and joyful conviction the assurance of a better hereafter; which offered to the faint-hearted and despairing strong consolation, and opened to



FIG. 81. — Mithras group. Rome, Vatican. In a cavern, above which the chariot of the sun, or the sun and moon, are often indicated, kneels a youth in Phrygian garb (Mithras) upon the back of a bull, into whose neck he thrusts a dagger. A dog springs toward the bull, and a serpent licks the streaming blood. The scene symbolizes the victory of the Sun-god over the bull, as type of the Moon, or of the changes of time, which must pass away, that a new year may come into being. The dog represents Sirius, the devastating Dog-star. (From a photograph.)

those burdened with sin a hope of pardon — could not fail at its first announcement to gain acceptance with many. Early Christianity naturally spread among the masses of the ‘weary and heavy-laden,’ of the poor and unhappy, and above all among the slaves. Women likewise turned to the new doctrine, which raised them, particularly in the Greek-speaking provinces, to equal comradeship with men, which conferred upon marriage a new consecration, and upon their position

in the community dignity and importance. The spirit of brotherliness, and the charity of the Christians toward their companions in the faith, awakened admiration even among men of a sceptical view of life, while their morality was in this period without reproach.

Nevertheless, for a considerable time Christianity did not advance beyond a certain point. The Jews soon exhibited the bitterest opposition to the new sect that had crept into their synagogues. The heathen population showed its hostility as soon as material interests were affected. Hundreds of thousands in Greece and Italy found it indescribably difficult, by passing over to Christianity, to break with the past of their nations, which surrounded them incessantly, since their daily habits were associated with the worship and the festivals of the old deities. For the new Christians, too, it was difficult always to find the exact line which would avert from them the danger of unchristian conduct in contact with the outer world. Thus there grew among them the tendency to isolate themselves as far as possible from the life about them, which in turn gave occasion for suspicion, and the spreading of malicious rumors about their worship. It was long before the mass of the Christians was composed of other elements than former Jews, slaves, laborers, merchants of the lower sort, and devout women. Till the time of Commodus the number of men of the higher and cultured classes was very small, whom the new religion, with its honor for a 'crucified God,' and its community consisting of people of the lower orders, could draw to itself.

The Romans long regarded Christianity merely as a Jewish sect; but when the last Jewish war under Hadrian had clearly shown the breach between Jews and Christians, the relation of the Christians to the imperial government became full of danger. When Pliny first met the Christians in Bithynia, and in his perplexity over a phenomenon so inexplicable turned to Trajan for direction, the emperor announced the principle which for two hundred years determined the policy of Rome toward them. Pliny was impressed by their enthusiastic apprehension of divine things, and by their moral character, but was angered by the stubborn determination with which they refused to participate in the state religion. From this refusal the persecution of the Christians was to come. The empire did not proclaim war against the new religion as such, but against the political disobedience, and the danger to which the state was exposed by the Christians, because they absolutely refused to share in the worship of the emperor, which had become the essential point in the religion of the state. The withdrawal of the

Christians from association with others thus appeared very suspicious. Their refusal to sacrifice was regarded as political hostility, and took on the character of high treason. When Trajan refused to seek out the Christians, or to pay attention to anonymous accusations, but sanctioned the punishment of those publicly accused and condemned, in case they did not sacrifice before the gods of state, his course was both humane and temperate. Nevertheless, the principle was a fatal one; for by it Christianity was denied a lawful existence within the state, and the simple fact of belonging to the Christians was a punishable offence, calling for the attention of the court. The opportunity was thus opened for persecutions, which the mild and humane emperors could not always prevent. The condition of the Christians depended



FIG. 82. — Entrance to one of the most ancient Christian tombs at Tor Marancia.
(From Kraus.)

largely upon the temper of the imperial officials. Of accusations there could be no lack, since the growing number of the believers rendered inevitable increasing conflict with their heathen opponents. The injury done by Christianity to the interests of the old cults awakened intense bitterness. Its 'atheism,' the godlessness of its religion, was made a standing reproach against it. When finally the Christians' rejection of the old gods, with which the prosperity of the state seemed bound up, called penalties down upon them, it was not long before all the disasters of the state were laid to their charge. The death penalty was visited upon them with all the terrors of Roman justice, when, as was usually the case, it concerned slaves and persons of low station, or such as were not citizens. (Cf. Figs. 82, 83).

Trajan's policy remained the norm for dealing with the Christians. It depended upon the disposition of the emperors whether the Christian communities were to be ignored or tolerated or not. The emperors of noble character, but of the old Roman mode of thinking, exhibited the sternest opposition to the Christian teaching, and therefore encouraged persecution. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius were decidedly tolerant. But that they, as has been asserted, issued edicts to the effect that the Christians should not be condemned except for proven crime, has been shown to be untenable. Even then the Christians did not lack among them men of culture, ability, and eloquence, who, with deep conviction and practical tact, came forward as apologists for their companions, and strove to turn public sentiment, and particularly that of the emperors, in their favor. Besides Greek writers, trained in the school of Platonic philosophy, like Justin Martyr of Flavia Neapolis and his Syrian pupil Tatian, like Athenagoras of Athens, who in A.D. 177 addressed his defence of Christianity to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the Roman advocate M. Minucius Felix, toward the end of the second century, published the first Latin work that has come down to us in favor of Christianity. But of far more importance was the fiery Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus of Carthage (A.D. 145-220), who became a Christian in 185, and whose brilliant "Apology" was published in A.D. 199. These writings were in reply to attacks by heathen writers.

The new impulse to moral renovation given by Christianity thus met with violent opposition, and had begun to affect only the lower strata of the empire. That the condition of these classes was, under Hadrian, legally improved was a greater cause for rejoicing, because slavery was becoming in greater measure the foundation of ancient civilization; and it was a presage of future evil that the disappearance of the smaller free land-owners, which once had caused the commotions of the Gracchan period, again began. Here lay a part of the weakness shown by the state in the trials of the third century. While the cultivation of farms and gardens had reached the highest perfection, the war



FIG. 83. — Catacombs of Rome. Gallery with graves. (From Kraus.)

of capital against the smaller land-owners continued, resulting, in Italy and the provinces, in an evident diminution of the peasants, particularly in Gaul, where the great estates, especially of the rich decurions of the cities, crowded the small peasants; in Spain, where the system of *latifundia* ('great estates'), even in the first century of the empire, had gained great extension, particularly in Baetica; and in Africa, where monstrous *latifundia* came into the possession of single owners, or as 'domains' (*saltus*) into that of the fiscus. From this came the change, so fatal for the future, of the free *coloni* into serfs. In the following centuries we find the country people for the most part, while possessing personal freedom and the right of holding property, bound to the soil, — a condition entailed upon their children. Thus the weakening of the people and destructive social convulsions were made unavoidable.

PART III.

THE ROMAN STATE FROM MARCUS AURELIUS TO CARACALLA.

(A.D. 161-211.)

CHAPTER VI.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS.

(A.D. 161-193.)

WHEN, on March 7, A.D. 161, Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 84) followed Antoninus upon the throne, the world saw the rare spectacle of a philosopher in power. He was a man of rare purity of character and greatness of soul, whose princely mildness only failed toward the Christians, against whom his Roman prejudice was unconquerable. Unselfish, kind of heart, and almost painfully conscientious, to the end of his life he remained true to the philosophy of the Stoa. The Stoic philosophy, under the influence of Epictetus of Hierapolis, who first taught in Rome, and after A.D. 94 at Nicopolis in Epirus, took a new direction. The former harshness of the school was given up; and its doctrines of the inner freedom of man, rooted in his moral nature, and of the true self-knowledge, were presented in practical and popularly intelligible form, so that the Stoa became a school of morality and practical wisdom for daily life. It was in this sense that the Stoa received the homage of Marcus Aurelius, who, even when emperor, occupied himself with philosophic writings, and in his private as in public life strove to make the strictest morality a reality. In his controlling sense of duty he gave to the government, which he had not desired, all his powers, though he would have preferred to devote them to philosophy. But it was impossible for him to confer the happiness which he wished upon the state.

His associate, Lucius Verus (Fig. 85), was indolent and dissolute, and often a source of discomfort. But the most serious danger was

threatening from the Parthians in the Orient, on account of renewed difficulties in Armenia. Soon after the death of Antoninus, the Parthian king, in trying to establish a dependent as king of Armenia, defeated a Roman legate and broke into Syria, where the legions gave way before him. Distinguished generals at the head of the legions of the West were sent to restore the honor of Roman arms. Under the



FIG. 84. — Marcus Aurelius. Ancient bust in Rome. Capitoline Museum. (From a photograph.)

emperor L. Verus as commander-in-chief, the Cappadocian governor, M. Statius Priscus, in A.D. 163 took and destroyed the Armenian capital, Artaxata. A vassal king was set up in Armenia by the Romans. A lieutenant of the emperor Verus, Avidius Cassius, renowned for his severity, after gaining a great battle at Europus in A.D. 164, advanced through Mesopotamia as far as Nisibis, and destroyed the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon. In A.D. 165 Cassius entered

Media, and forced the Parthians to a peace, in which they gave up Northwest Mesopotamia to the Romans.

On their return from the Parthian war the legions brought with them a destructive plague, which extended over the West, visited the provinces one after another, and spread with great severity in Rome and Italy. A famine intensified the horrors and duration of the plague; the art of the physician sought in vain to check it. Even Galen,¹ the most renowned physician of the ancient world since the death of Hippocrates, turned back in haste in A.D. 167-168 to Asia. All rites and forms of ancient worship were employed to appease the gods. It is probable that the panic at the plague, which was immediately followed by the Marcomannic war, aroused the fury of the people against the Christians. Marcus Aurelius himself ordered that whoever intruded new and unknown religions, which tended to unsettle men's minds, should, according to rank, be transported or put to death. His prejudice against the Christians was unconquerable; and their enthusiastic and joyful way of meeting death, and the heroism of their martyrs, stirred him against them. In A.D. 167 the wild fury of the people and of the courts occasioned extensive persecutions against the community of Smyrna, and ten years later against those of Vienne and Lyons. Torture at the investigation, cruel death penalties for persons of low rank, and decapitation for those of higher, deportation to the quarries and the mines, were the common practice.

For some time threatening news had been coming from the Danube. A movement was in progress in the German world beyond the river, but the Romans did not know how great a danger was impending. The Germans, who in Augustus's time had not yet acquired fixed dwellings, had been checked for a century and a half in their advance



FIG. 85. — Lucius Verus.
Statue in Rome, Vatican.
(From a photograph.)

¹ He was the son of the architect Nicon, born in A.D. 130, at Pergamum. Going to Rome, in A.D. 164, he was active as a medical and philosophical writer and as a physician.

southwest by the erection of the Roman defences on the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Danube. They had consequently turned to more or less permanent tillage, though hunting and grazing were still of great importance to them. The change had led to an immense increase in the population, that frequently caused a scarcity of food. It was natural that they should again take up their old habits of migration, and sooner or later attack the Roman frontier lands; for their Slavic and Finno-Tatar neighbors made a push toward the east impossible. The changes of abode which resulted primarily from agricultural circumstances, were furthered by secondary causes, such as the pressure of powerful neighbors, and internal wars and internal political revolutions. These brought about a protracted movement in the interior of Germany, of which the results were felt till the time of Aurelian. It was the first phase of the migration of the German peoples, and was started by the Goths. In the middle of the second century the Goths on the Baltic and the Lower Vistula turned southward toward the Lower Danube. We afterward find them in the districts along the Dnieper and on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. The first stages of the movement, in which they had to force their way partly with the sword partly by treaties, were felt by the Romans. In pushing through the central and lower districts of the Oder and Vistula, they fell first upon the peoples of Central and Southern Germany. The passage to the Middle Danube they could not force; but they pressed so hard upon the peoples of Silesia, the Naristi and Hermunduri farther west, and the Quadi, that large portions of these peoples were incorporated with the Marcomanni. On their further course by the Carpathians toward the Pontic southeast, the Goths took with them many related tribes; and their movement gave a new impulse to the war of the Danubian peoples against Rome that had meantime broken out.

On the Pannonian Danube, and in Upper Germany among the Chatti, there was noticed a movement of the German tribes, who wished to obtain new homes on Roman soil. The Romans were not able to undertake a great war then, owing to their difficulties with the Parthians; but just as the Parthian triumph was being celebrated in Rome, in A.D. 166, the Chatti, the Marcomanni, who had already formed a league, the Quadi, and the Sarmatian Jazyges, crossed the Danube, spread over Rhaetia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dacia, devastating far and wide, and carried off thousands of the inhabitants as slaves. In the beginning of A.D. 167 they crossed the Alps, fell upon Italy, and attacked Aquileia; and at a time when the pest-stricken legions

were weakened, and the state exhausted by famine, Marcus Aurelius was called upon to strain every nerve for defence. The emperor himself and L. Verus hastened to the north, and drove the enemy back across the Danube. The emperor's son-in-law, the legate Publius Helvius Pertinax, cleared Rhaetia of enemies; the Upper Danube was strengthened with new fortresses (Fig. 86) at Ratisbon and Enns; and from Pannonia the war was practically limited to the Marcomanni and Jazyges. Besides L. Verus, who died in January, A.D. 169, many able Roman leaders fell in this war; and it was not till A.D. 172 that the Marcomanni seemed to be completely subjected. The Quadi were



FIG. 86. — Roman troops erecting a fortress. Relief on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. (From Bartoli-Bellorius.)

next reduced, and in A.D. 175 the Jazyges. The conquered peoples were forced to give up a border tract of land on the left bank of the Danube, and to furnish a contingent for the Roman army. Only a revolt in Syria prevented the emperor at that time from driving the Sarmatians completely out of the country between the Theiss and the Danube.

Marcus Aurelius took an important step in beginning to plant many Germans within the boundaries of the state. A part of these settlers consisted of remnants of homeless peoples, who, as the future soldiers of the state, obtained, on favorable conditions, homes along the border; among them Vandals were settled in Dacia. The mass

of German captives were settled in various parts of the empire as bondmen, or as peasants and servants personally free, but attached to definite estates, or placed in large numbers under one Roman patron, who was answerable for them to the state. From these settlements of 'barbarians,' which from this time became common, the Romans developed an agricultural and military system, which, uniting with the existing tendencies toward the formation of a dependent class, had a pernicious influence upon the relations of the peasantry to the state, and upon the development of the empire.

A false report of the death of Marcus Aurelius, in the spring of A.D. 175, induced Avidius Cassius, whose services as commander-in-chief of the entire Orient since A.D. 169 had been meritorious, but who was distasteful to the emperor, to assume the imperial title at Antioch. He gained for himself all Syria and Egypt. But the movement was soon checked, as the legates in Cappadocia and in Bithynia remained faithful to Marcus Aurelius. When the emperor, after concluding peace with the Jazyges, set out for Asia, he received on the way the news that Avidius had been murdered by those about him.

Returning to Rome in the fall of A.D. 176, the emperor celebrated his victory over the peoples of the Danube. It was then that the senate erected the equestrian statue (PLATE XIV.) which to-day is one of the most beautiful ornaments of the Campidoglio. Besides this,



FIG. 87. — The Column of Marcus Aurelius, in Rome. (From a photograph.)

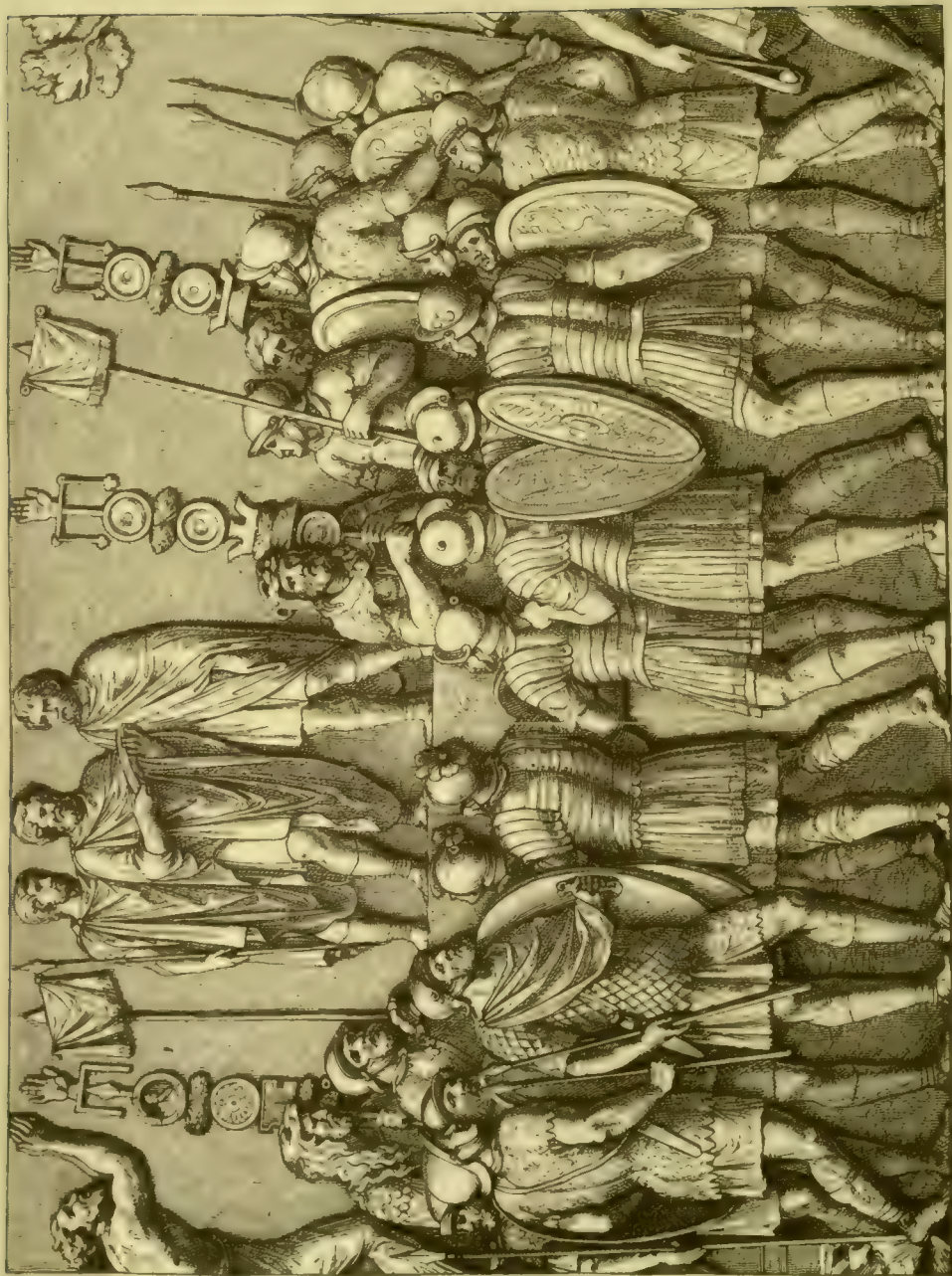
there was erected to his honor, on the Campus Martius, on the Via Lata, a part of the Via Flaminia, a group of monuments. There is to-day in this neighborhood, in the Piazza Colonna, the marble triumphal column of Marcus Aurelius, built of twenty-eight blocks, ornamented

PLATE XIV.



Bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, on the Capitol in Rome.

(From a photograph.)



Reliefs on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, in Rome.

The emperor addresses his soldiers; at his side two legates. The soldier in the foreground at the extreme left wears a linen cuirass; his neighbor one made of scale-armor (*lorica squamata*), and over it a military cloak (*sagum*). The cuirass of the third soldier is made of metallic strips. (From Bartoli-Bellori.)

with representations of conflicts with the peoples of the Danube, and measuring ninety-five feet in height (PLATE XV.; Fig. 87). It was originally surmounted by the bronze statue of the emperor. The emperor now had time to devote to the affairs of peace, and in the same year he was able to remit all outstanding dues to the state for a period of forty-six years past. But misfortunes did not cease. Death had had cruel work with his children. His son Marcus Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, born August 31, A.D. 161, was made Caesar October 12, A.D. 166; but with all the efforts of his father and other able men around him, he could not be properly trained for the principate. Commodus was weak, timorous, without self-reliance, easily influenced by his surroundings, not the man whom the state needed at that time. But Marcus Aurelius could not resolve to exclude him from the succession. In A.D. 177 Commodus received the tribunician authority, and was called to stand at his father's side as Augustus.

War again broke out on the Danube in A.D. 177. Marcus Aurelius, accompanied by Commodus, took the field in person, with the intention of completely subduing his old opponents. The lands along the Danube were fortified anew and very strongly. A powerful fleet was put upon the river. The emperor formed new legions to garrison Noricum and Rhaetia. The war was becoming very successful for the Romans, when on March 17, A.D. 180, to the misfortune of the state, the great emperor died of the plague in the camp at Vindobona.

Commodus, though not yet nineteen years old, succeeded to the power without difficulty; but he was unable to make use of his father's victory. A peace was made with the Germans on the same conditions that five or six years before Marcus Aurelius had laid upon the enemy; but the strong places in the interior of the hostile country were given up.

Commodus (Fig. 88) lacked the disposition and mental force to meet the demands which the conduct of the state made upon the holder of the principate; and when, in A.D. 183, a conspiracy against his life had awakened his fears, he vented his passion for blood against many eminent men. Once again Rome saw a vicious boy upon the throne,



FIG. 88. — Coin of Commodus. Reverse, showing a tropaeum, with two prisoners in fetters, inscribed: DE GERMANIS TRIBUNICIAE POTESTATE II. CONSUL PATER PATRIAE. (Berlin.)

seized with 'imperial madness,' who, in his wild passion for enjoyment, treads under foot the decencies of his station. The imperial 'Hercules' (Fig. 89) did not hesitate to appear in the amphitheatre, in the presence of the senate and people, as a gladiator, and in the contests with beasts. But as he did not wish to expose himself to actual danger, the wild animals were killed by arrows and spears shot from a gallery raised above the arena.



FIG. 89. — Commodus as Hercules. Antique bust in Rome, Capitoline Museum. (From photograph.)

The affairs of state were fairly well administered for some time. The emperor's confidant, the ambitious prefect of the guard, Tigridius Perennis, was, aside from his avarice, fully equal to his position, and sternly maintained the discipline of the army, till, in consequence of a mutiny in Britain, he was abandoned by Commodus to the revenge of the troops in A.D. 185. The power now fell into the hands of the chief chamberlain, Cleander, who by oppression and by the sale of offices and judicial sentences gained a great fortune, but in A.D. 189 was murdered by the people in Rome.

When at last Commodus's wild behavior became too dangerous for those about him, a conspiracy was formed at the court, with the plan of raising to the principate the universally esteemed Pertinax, who was then head of the police. Whether he himself was privy to the conspiracy is unknown; but in the night of December 31, A.D. 192, the conspirators murdered Commodus, and Pertinax was recognized by the guard and the senate as emperor.

It was hoped that in Pertinax a new Vespasian had obtained the sceptre, and that the state could again expect happy days. The energy and the zeal with which Pertinax proceeded to heal the wounds of the state were generally approved throughout the empire and in the city. But his economy and the knavish intrigues of Laetus, the prefect of the guard, led to a new catastrophe. On March 28, A.D. 193, two hundred mutinous praetorians pushed into the palace, and struck down the aged emperor. And now within the walls of their camp the troops of the guard openly offered the silver laurel crown of the Caesars to whoever should offer them the best conditions. The rich ex-consul, M. Didius Salvius Julianus Severus, a grandson of the great jurist Salvius Julianus, acquired the sovereignty by promising to every man a donation of \$1200. He was soon to learn that the legions would no longer recognize an emperor by the grace of the praetorians. A new era of civil war was at hand.

CHAPTER VII.

SEPTIMUS SEVERUS.

(A.D. 193-211.)

THE news of the murder of Pertinax aroused deep displeasure among the troops at three points in the empire, and suggested to the legates that they follow the example of Vespasian. Pescennius Niger, in Syria, who was the first to rise, received much sympathy in Rome, and was recognized as imperator by the entire East as far as the Adriatic. But at the same time other aspirants to the throne appeared, — Clodius Albinus, the legate in Britain, the favorite of the senate among the generals, and Septimius Severus, the Pannonian legate commanding at Carnuntum. Severus, born April 11, A.D. 146, at Leptis Major, a descendant of a Roman equestrian family which had settled in Africa in Domitian's time, and had gained a seat in the senate, had come to Rome about A.D. 172 to complete his studies, mainly legal, had successively administered the usual offices, and in A.D. 179 had commanded a legion in Syria. In A.D. 187 and 188 he was the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. He married the beautiful Julia Domna of Emesa in Syria, who at Lyons bore to him, on April 4, A.D. 188, Bassianus, afterward known as Caracalla. He was ambitious for distinction, and was legate of Upper Pannonia in the last years of Commodus. Now following the call of his army as emperor to avenge the death of Pertinax, he made swift and effective preparations to reduce Rome, and then to take up the struggle with Pescennius Niger, satisfying Clodius Albinus meantime with the rank of Caesar and the expectation of the succession. The legions of the Danube and the Rhine came over to him. The report of the rising of Severus and of his advance toward Italy made the condition of Didius hopeless. When the praetorians abandoned him, the senate met, condemned him to death, and having caused his execution by soldiers in the palace, June 1, A.D. 193, recognized Severus (Fig. 90) as emperor.

On his arrival in Rome the victorious emperor caused the execution of the murderers of Pertinax, and dismissed the praetorians in disgrace. But Rome was soon to learn that its new master purposed to

establish a purely military despotism, a course which the principate had hitherto systematically avoided. He abandoned the system of Augustus in the reorganization of the guard. Henceforth it was to be recruited from the legions, particularly from those of the Illyrian provinces and of Africa. This made of it a picked corps, and a reward for the veterans of the legions; but it also meant that the legions were now masters in the state. He did not require the assent of the senate to his assumption of the purple, but merely announced to that body the



FIG. 90. — Septimius Severus. Antique bust in Rome, Capitoline Museum.
(From a photograph.)

reasons which had led him to assume it. After thirty days he left Rome to begin the war against Pescennius Niger, who in a few months was overthrown and slain.

In A.D. 195 Severus turned his arms against the frontier provinces of the Parthian kingdom, whose inhabitants had at first supported Pescennius, subjugated all Western Mesopotamia, and made Nisibis the capital of the new province.

The incensed Parthian king was quieted by the cession of a part of Armenia. Severus did this because his relations with Clodius Albinus

(Fig. 91) had been disturbed and he was preparing for war. Albinus did not hesitate to draw the sword, when Severus on the march to the Danube raised his oldest son to the rank of Caesar as 'Aurelius Antoninus.' The British veterans were now brought to Gaul and re-enforced by Gallic and Spanish troops. The decisive battle took place near Lyons, in A.D. 197, at Trinurtium (Trevoux), and turned, after long wavering, in favor of Severus. Albinus took his own life in the flight.

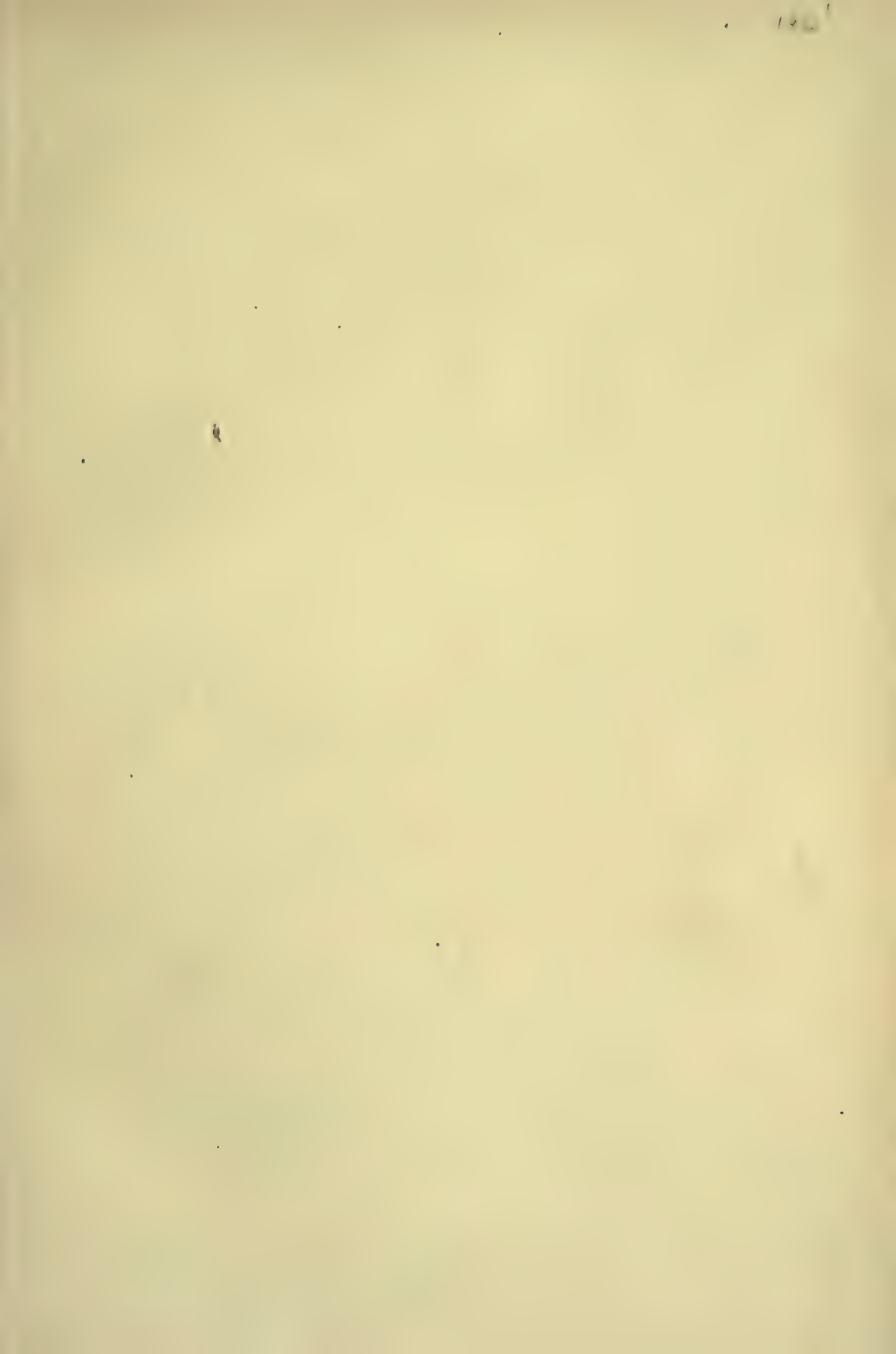


FIG. 91. — Clodius Albinus. Antique statue in Rome, Vatican. (From a photograph.)

Severus visited with executions and confiscations the supporters of Albinus. The city of Lyons suffered heavily from the revenge of the emperor and the rapacity of his army, and in Roman times never fully recovered from the blow it then received. The Parthians, who during the struggle between Albinus and Severus had overrun Mesopotamia, and beleaguered the strong fortress of Nisibis, which was bravely defended by Laetus, now called Severus to a new war in the Orient. Driving the Parthians quickly out of Mesopotamia, he entered their own country. In the cool autumnal season he led his army, partly by land and partly with the aid of a large fleet by water, down the river to Babylon; then turning to the Tigris, occupied Seleucia, and began an attack upon Ctesiphon. After a long

struggle he captured the Parthian capital in the winter of A.D. 198. The city was given up to the soldiers to plunder, and 100,000 prisoners were made. The possession of Mesopotamia was well assured.

In A.D. 202 the emperor returned to Rome, accompanied by his elder son, who was now 'Augustus.' Here his vigorous and able government reconciled to him both senate and people. In A.D. 203 there was built in his honor, at the northwest corner of the Forum, a splendid





Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus near the Roman Forum. (From a photograph.)

triumphal arch of Pentelic marble, adorned with reliefs (PLATE XVI.). In legislative matters the emperor's legal training stood him in good stead; and, besides, he chose as his friend and councillor one of the greatest jurists that Rome ever produced, — Aemilius Papinianus, — who for a long time, in the office *a libellis*, had the management of petitions and complaints to the emperor, and, in A.D. 203–4, was at the head of the guard. During his administration of the prefecture he had as assistants two young men, who afterward, as leaders of the praetorians and as jurists of the first rank, played an important part, — Julius Paulus, born, probably, at Padua, and Domitius Ulpianus, of Tyrë, born in A.D. 170.

The political policy of Severus tended to develop the absolute monarchy. Its aim was to lower the predominant position of Italy and Rome in the empire, to bring about the equality of the provinces, and to turn the principate into an absolute military government.

At first Severus subjected Italy to the proconsular government; but after this time the secondary proconsular authority was no longer conferred, and the tribunician authority was bestowed only on those who were designated for the succession. From this time likewise the general's scarf, the 'imperial purple,' became the badge of the emperor. The share of the senate in the appointment of governors for their provinces became under Severus, and after him, steadily more shadowy. Pertinax and Didius had already separated their patrimony from the fiscus, and had devised it to their children. Following their example, Severus made the fiscus into a purely state treasury, beside which there was little room for the senatorial *aerarium*, which continued to Diocletian's time, but sank more and more into a municipal treasury for the city of Rome. The officer who administered the fiscus received the name of *rationalis*. The knights received office in increasing numbers at the expense of the senators. But Severus's most strongly marked tendency to establish an absolute military monarchy was checked by his dangerous indulgence to the soldiers. The pay of the troops was considerably raised; the centurionate was rated with the military positions of the knights, a military title, *a militis*, was adopted for retired officers; the soldiers were taken into the service of the general administration, and the imperial freedmen were partially removed from the subaltern positions. Italy was so occupied with troops that from this time more than four times as many soldiers as before were stationed there. One legion received permanent quarters on the Alban Mount, near Rome, which continued till Diocletian.

The number of the city cohorts was limited to four; the fire-department was recruited from Roman citizens; a new corps of police (*peregrini*) was formed, and the garrison of Rome re-enforced by marines from Misenum and Ravenna. The heads of the military and civil administration were the prefects of the guard, who were now in a strict sense the representatives of the emperor, and whose power now reached its height. They had the general care of the maintenance of the army, as well as its administration, and also the command and jurisdiction over all the troops quartered in Italy and Rome, except the city cohorts and the legion at Alba. The prefect exercised military law over the communities in his own name; but as representative of the emperor he had a much wider penal jurisdiction. From the time of Domitian, it became the custom for one of the prefects of the guard to accompany the emperor into the field. In the third century he also gained a general oversight over the personnel of the imperial officials. Above all, it was necessary, with his increasing power in general, civil, and criminal jurisdiction, that he should be conversant with law. The first jurists of the age were therefore called to one of these commands; and a prefect appears also as presiding in the emperor's council. How badly this position could be misused, the Romans experienced, even under Severus, in the case of the prefect, Fulvius Plautianus, whose rapacity, cruelty, and violence were beyond all bounds, till at last, in A.D. 203, he was overthrown by the young prince, Caracalla, on the charge of a plot against the dynasty.

The last years of his reign Severus spent in Britain, where he went in the beginning of A.D. 208. The Caledonians had taken advantage of the war between Albinus and Severus to make an attack upon the province, and in A.D. 203 had again risen. Severus, accompanied to the island by Papinianus, undertook, in A.D. 209, the difficult war against the Scottish peoples, in which axe, mattock, and spade had as large a part as the sword. The emperor succeeded in traversing Scotland to its northern point, and, in A.D. 210, in forcing the Scots to a peace favorable to the Romans. On May 5, A.D. 210, he again entered York (Eboracum); and the line of posts of Antoninus Pius, between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth, was made into a chain of strong intrenchments. On February 4, A.D. 211, at Eboracum, the old emperor closed his life.

BOOK II.

ROME: FROM THE ACCESSION OF
CARACALLA TO THE DIVISION
OF THE EMPIRE.

(A.D. 211-395.)

PART IV.

FROM CARACALLA TO CARINUS.

(A.D. 211-284.)

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM CARACALLA TO GALLIENUS.

(A.D. 211-268.)

WITH the death of Septimius Severus began the decline of the empire, which, though hastened by wicked or incompetent rulers, by great internal evils, and by the incursions of the border nations of the north and the east, was arrested for a time by a succession of distinguished emperors in the latter half of the third century.

Severus was succeeded by his son 'Antoninus,' called by the people Caracalla (Fig. 92). The most important and far-reaching act of this emperor, the direct result of the policy of his father, was the decree by which Roman citizenship was conferred upon all free inhabitants of the empire in A.D. 212, a just and intelligent measure to increase the unity and strength of the state, which, however, came too late.

After the death of Severus, there appeared on the borders of Rhaetia and Upper Germany a new league of Germans, the Alamanni, a group of warlike tribes, among which the Juthungi were predominant. In A.D. 213 Caracalla was obliged to take the field in person. He defeated them upon the Main, and, to protect the Agri Decumates, maintained and strengthened the line of defence along the Neckar. The Germans on the Rhine remained dangerous, however, though the first irreparable breach in the empire was to be made by the Goths (p. 188), who, having reached the northwestern coast of the Black Sea, and absorbed many Sarmatian, Dacian, and Germanic tribes, threatened the border-land of Dacia and Moesia, and finally crossed the Danube in A.D. 238.

A change in the Iranian countries of the East was also disastrous for the Romans. The supremacy of the Parthians did not endure long after the death of Severus. An attempt of Caracalla to unite Armenia with the state led to an insurrection. The insurgents applied to the Parthians for help; and Caracalla, in A.D. 216, set out to make war upon the Parthians. But he was murdered by his officers at Edessa, in the spring of A.D. 217. His successor, Macrinus, after losing a battle, made peace, in A.D. 218, with King Artabanus. Meanwhile the prince



FIG. 92. — Caracalla. Antique bust in Rome, Vatican.
(From a photograph.)

of Persia, Ardashir (Artaxerxes), the grandson of Sassan (from whom the new dynasty is called Sassanidae), rose against the Parthian supremacy, proclaimed himself king in Persepolis (Istakhr) in A.D. 224, and, overcoming the Parthians in a war of several years' duration, re-established the power of the Persians in Central Asia. This movement was accompanied by a fanatical religious and national reaction of the Persians against the culture and political claims of the West. The Sassanidae,

as the successors of the Achaemenidae, claimed Hither Asia, and were far more dangerous to the Romans than the decrepit Parthians. Henceforth the countries from Palestine to the Black Sea became in almost every generation the scene of wars.

It was Rome's misfortune that for almost sixty years from the death of Septimius Severus no great ruler appeared, and that the succession to the throne was accompanied regularly with suicidal civil wars. Severus's successor in A.D. 211, Caracalla, was by no means insignificant; but he was neither a general nor a statesman. A grotesque imitator of Alexander the Great, passionate and fierce, he adorned Rome with splendid buildings (PLATE XVII.; Fig. 93), but

PLATE XVII.



Ruins of the Baths of Caracalla: interior view. (From a photograph.)

stained his name by the murder of his brother Geta, of Papinianus, and countless others, in A.D. 212, and by other deeds of blood in Alexandria in A.D. 215. He promoted two fatal evils, the rule of the soldiers and the disorder of the finances. He was murdered April 8, A.D. 217, between Edessa and Carrhae, at the instigation of his prefect of the guard, the Mauretanian, M. Opellius Macrinus, who then became emperor. But the money and intrigues of the family of the empress, Julia Domna, induced the troops in Syria to rise against Macrinus, and to substitute on the throne, May 16, A.D. 218, the high priest of the Syro-Phoenician sun-god Elagabalus, Varius Avitus, a lad of fourteen,

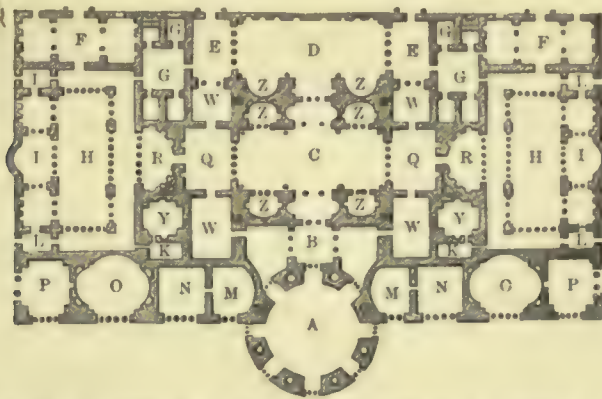


FIG. 93. — Baths of Caracalla in Rome. A, entrance-hall, a rotunda, 164 feet in diameter; B, Apodyterium (undressing-room); C, main hall, the ephebeum, its ceiling supported by eight colossal granite columns; QQ, small apartments for spectators; ZZZZ, niches; D, hall of equal size with the Ephebeum, containing a great swimming-pool (piscina); ZZ are niches, and EE small halls. These apartments constitute the essential part of the baths. The use of the adjacent rooms is uncertain. FF may have been vestibula for books; GG, dressing-rooms; HH, peristyle with swimming-pool and adjacent rooms II; KK, the Elaeothesium (oiling-chamber), with consistorium YY; LL, vestibula, above which rooms were found with mosaic pavement; MM, Laconicum; NN, Caldarium; OO, Tepidarium; PP, Frigidarium; R, exedrae. (From Blouet and Cameron.)

the son of a cousin of Caracalla, and said to be an illegitimate son of Caracalla himself. In the war that ensued, Macrinus was defeated. The new emperor, 'M. Aurelius Antoninus,' who, however, called himself Elagabalus, entered Rome in A.D. 219. His government was a carnival of vice, extravagance, and bloodshed, till, in A.D. 222, he was killed in a mutiny of the soldiers. The throne then came to his cousin, scarcely fourteen years old, M. Aurelius Alexander (Alexianus Bassianus, who, as emperor, took the name of Alexander Severus (Figs. 94-95). This young and high-minded prince was at first under the

influence of his mother, Julia Mamaea, a shrewd and ambitious woman, and of the distinguished jurist, Domitius Ulpianus, his praetorian prefect. He readily furthered reforms. Under him the system of dividing large provinces into smaller ones was developed, and a beginning was made in the imperial provinces of separating the civil administration from the military authority. The senate again rose to a position of power which it had not known for years, and the absolute military system of Severus was completely broken down. But the reforming



FIG. 94.—Alexander Severus. Antique bust in Rome, Vatican. (From photograph.)

tendencies of the new government encountered the hostility of all who had anything to gain from the disorder that had existed since the death of Septimius. In A.D. 228 the guard, angered at the introduction of economy in the administration, and strict discipline in the army, murdered Ulpian. Alexander, though personally brave, was of a passive temperament, and no general; and his known dependence upon the counsels of his mother was regarded with disdain in the camps. On his return from the inglorious Persian war (A.D. 230–233)

he went to Mayence, in A.D. 234, to purchase peace from the Alamanni with money, and was killed on February 10, A.D. 235, at Sicila, near Mayence, in a mutiny of the soldiers.

Thus began again the undisguised supremacy of the soldiers, who conferred the purple upon their favorite officer, Julius Verus Maximinus (Maximin), a ‘barbarian,’ either a Thracian, or a German born in Thrace, a soldier of gigantic stature, who had risen in the service by his military talents and the favor of Alexander Severus. But as a

'barbarian,' and the creation of a sanguinary mutiny, this emperor was regarded in Rome with abhorrence, which increased when the senate perceived that the power it had gained from Alexander had again and finally passed away. The successes of the emperor, in A.D. 236 and A.D. 237, over the Alamanni, did not improve the relation; for Maximin (Fig. 96) hated the brilliant Roman society, was severe in gathering resources for his campaigns, and quick to condemn to death. When, therefore, in February, A.D. 238, the aged proconsul M. Antonius Gordianus (Gordian) rose in Africa as rival emperor, he and his son were recognized without delay by the senate. Maximin was advancing into Italy from Sirmium in Pannonia, when he learned at Aemona in March, 238, that the two Gordians had been overthrown, but that the senate had recognized two new emperors, Decimus Balbinus and M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus. The people and the guard compelled the



FIG. 95. — Alexander Severus.
Copper coin. IMPERATOR
SEVERUS ALEXANDER
AVGustus.



FIG. 96. — Copper coin of
Maximin; inscribed,
VICTORIA GERMANICA.

senate to place as Caesar by their side the young M. Antonius Gordianus III., grandson of the elder Gordian. An attempt of Maximin, in April, to capture Aquileia having failed, a part of his troops rose in May against him, and he took his own life. But the senate had no profit in its victory; for the guard in Rome saw with displeasure the revival of senatorial power, and in June murdered both the emperors of the senate. The hopes which were built on the young emperor, Gordian III., vanished, when, during the campaign against the Persians in A.D. 243, the Arab, Philip of Bostra, caused him to be murdered, and assumed the purple himself.

The demoralization of the army was extreme. Caracalla had gone beyond all bounds in pampering the soldiers and in raising their pay; and they, feeling that they were the real masters of the state, opposed bitterly every attempt to restore economy and good discipline, frequently murdering officers who were strict. Unhappily none of the

emperors of this time, except Maximin, was a good general, or able to impress the soldiers, like Vespasian or Trajan; and the number of competent corps leaders even was small. Caracalla and Elagabalus gave to the army many incapable legates. It was the ambition of these corps commanders that caused the disastrous political convulsions.

The finances of the state were ruined by the increasing cost of the army, by the civil wars, and by the unexampled prodigality of Elagabalus. The coinage was disorganized throughout the whole of the third century, producing a monetary crisis of long duration. The system introduced by Nero of employing the silver money at a forced

valuation was never given up; and the silver value of the denarius steadily diminished, and under Septimius Severus the coin was half alloy. Elagabalus paid his debts and those of the fiscus with debased coins, and compelled the taxes and dues to the fiscus to be paid only in good gold. It was the beginning of a general bankruptcy, and the succeeding reigns were not able to check the evil.

Philip the Arabian was not able long to sustain himself in power. In



FIG. 97. — Decius. Antique bust in Rome, Capitoline Museum. (From a photograph.)

the years A.D. 245–247 he was victorious over the Getae in the valleys of the Sereth and Pruth; and in A.D. 248 he celebrated in Rome with great splendor the completed millennium of the imperial city. In A.D. 249 a revolt of the army in Moesia and Pannonia, then the strongest in the state, was repressed by Messius Trajanus Decius (Fig. 97) (born A.D. 201 at Budalia, near Sirmium); but he was himself forced by his troops to assume the purple, and in the autumn Philip fell in a battle at Verona. The new emperor, a thoroughly able man, and a Roman of the ancient type, sought with the help of the senate and the best men of the state to check the progress of decay. He made the mistake of beginning a systematic persecution of the Christians (early

in A.D. 250). But his attention was soon drawn to averting an invasion of the Goths, who had crossed the Danube, and poured over Moesia and Thrace. The Romans were defeated near the Thracian Beroë, in A.D. 250; and Philippopolis, where the Goths committed frightful atrocities, was taken. The emperor at last surrounded the Goths, and intended to cut off their retreat over the Danube, when he was slain in a battle in the Dobrudja, in November, A.D. 251; and his successor, Trebonianus Gallus of Perusia, concluded a shameful peace, leaving the Goths their booty, and consenting to an annual tribute.

In A.D. 251 a deadly pestilence, which came from the Upper Nile, spread over the realm, and after devastating the Balkan peninsula reached Rome. Frequently intermitted, only to return with greater violence, it raged until A.D. 272, breaking the vigor of the people far and wide, in city and in country, decimating the troops, and at times attacking the northern enemies. The history of these twenty years is marked by the horrors of pestilence, famine, financial distress, unending civil wars, and the inroads of the barbarians. The state came to the verge of dissolution; and from this time the cheerful character of ancient life disappears, and the physical decay of the people begins.

The peace made by Gallus did not secure quiet on the Danube; and when the legate of Pannonia, Marcus Aemilius Aemilianus, a Mauretanian, defeated the enemy, in A.D. 253, his army proclaimed him emperor. Gallus, on meeting Aemilianus, in February, A.D. 254, at Interamna (Terni), in Umbria, was murdered by his own soldiers; but the commander of Rhaetia and Noricum, Publius Licinius Valerianus, a friend of Decius, and a favorite with the senate and the leaders of the army, who was coming to the assistance of Gallus, on hearing of his fall was persuaded by his officers to assume the purple himself. In May, Aemilianus was put out of the way by his own officers, at Spolegium. Valerian, who was over sixty and growing old, was not competent to meet the dangers to the state. Its enemies were pressing over the border at three points. On the lower Rhine the Franks—a league of independent German peoples on the right bank, including the Chamavi, Bructeri, and Sugambri, long hostile to the Romans—were desperately resisted by Valerian's son and co-regent, Publius Licinius Gallienus, a man of thirty-five. On the lower Danube vast hordes of Germans, including the Marcomanni, had spread over the Balkan peninsula as far as Thessalonica. Finally, the Persian king, Sapor, in A.D. 252 or 253, had overrun Armenia, and in A.D. 254 Roman Mesopotamia, where only Edessa held out. The first care of

Valerian, who, with a quick eye for men of ability, brought together a good staff of officers, was to save the Danube frontier. Dacia was practically lost from A.D. 256; and about A.D. 255 the Goths and Heruli began to send out fleets upon the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Dniester and the Crimea, and to ravage the northern coasts of Asia Minor. The discipline of the troops was deplorable; Gallienus was



FIG. 98. — Gallienus. Antique bust in Rome, Capitoline Museum. (From a photograph.)

unpopular; and the ambition that drove the generals to grasp at the purple weakened the confidence of the government in its legates. While Valerian was engaged with the Persians, in A.D. 259–260, the officer to whom the defence of the Rhine had been intrusted, Marcus Cassianius Latinus Postumus, assumed the purple, and during the ensuing confusion the Franks crossed the Rhine, and, plundering Gaul, reached Tarragona, in Spain. In the Orient, at the end of A.D. 259, or beginning of A.D. 260, Valerian — who in A.D. 257 had renewed the persecution

of the Christians — was taken prisoner by treachery in an interview with Sapor, at Edessa, and died in captivity some years later. The Persians then captured, plundered, and partially destroyed Antioch and the Cappadocian Caesarea.

Gallienus (Fig. 98), who after the downfall of his father became sole emperor, never was in the condition personally to avenge him. The right bank of the Upper Rhine and a part of the province of Rhaetia were now lost to the Alamanni, who in their raids roved into

southeastern Gaul and Upper Italy. A band which reached Ravenna was destroyed by Gallienus at Milan. The energy with which the senate took part in the defence of Italy made the emperor so mistrustful that he excluded men of senatorial rank from the army.

He had reason enough for mistrust. Personally brave, not lacking in gifts as a general, Gallienus had no real authority over the leaders of the army. His spasmodic activity, and his tendency at times to sink passively into despair or to gratify his literary and artistic tastes, raised up against him many opponents. So at this critical time the desire of the generals to play the part of emperor spread like an epidemic to almost all the armies and provinces in succession.¹ Only the more important risings, which had an effect upon the history of the state, can be mentioned.

In Gaul, Postumus gradually got the better of the German invaders, and had a successful reign. In the East at two points the Persians were successfully resisted. They were defeated in A.D. 260 at Pompeiopolis in Cilicia by the legions, and on their return from Antioch, before they crossed the Euphrates, Septimius Odenathus, prince of the rich commercial city of Palmyra in the palm oasis of Tadmor, inflicted upon them serious losses. Scarcely was the danger from the Persians past when the Roman commanders renounced obedience to Gallienus, and proclaimed Maerianus emperor. The insurrection was speedily put down by the legates of Gallienus in Illyricum and by Odenathus in Syria. Gallienus rewarded Odenathus by recognizing him as 'king of Palmyra' and as 'independent governor of the emperor for the East.' Odenathus with Palmyrene and Roman troops restored the Roman supremacy, crossed the Euphrates, relieved Edessa (A.D. 264), drove the Persians out of Armenia, and made a successful attack upon Ctesiphon. He ruled excellently the provinces under him, — Syria with Arabia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia.

Gallienus ruled thus, at least formally, over the entire realm east of the Alps. He discontinued the persecutions of the Christians, and introduced the practical toleration which they enjoyed till the end of Diocletian's reign. But there was no prosperity in the empire, owing to the sufferings from the pestilence, and to the increasing insurrections, and to the monetary crisis, which now reached its height.

In A.D. 266 or 267, Odenathus was murdered at Emesa, with his

¹ These usurpers were called by the later Romans 'Tyrants;' and in fanciful remembrance of the fate of Athens after Aegospotami, later historians have called this time the age of the 'Thirty Tyrants.'

son Herodes, by his nephew Maeonius. His widow Zenobia (Fig. 99) (Bath Zabbai), a cultivated, beautiful, and prudent woman, of masculine vigor, claimed his father's place for her young son, Valballat, or Athenodorus. This was recognized both at Rome and in the Orient, but she herself conducted the government. Wishing to give to her state an Asiatic character, and to separate it completely from the Roman, without, however, openly casting off her allegiance, she determined to unite under her control the entire Orient, including Egypt, and after hard struggles actually succeeded.

In A.D. 267, 25,000 Heruli and Goths came by ships from the Sea of Azov to the Aegean, and, landing in Achaia, destroyed Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and a part of Athens. While the Roman fleet destroyed the



FIG. 99. — Zenobia. Copper coin, minted in Alexandria, and inscribed *CEPTIMIA ZHNOBIA CEBΑΣΤΗ*. (Berlin.)

robber-ships, and in Attica the brave historian Dexippus with 2000 Athenians repeatedly repelled the barbarians, Gallienus with a strong force crushed the Heruli at the river Nestus as they were marching northward from Attica. During the conflict his cavalry general, Aureolus, rose as a rival in Upper Italy. Gallienus hastened back to the Po, and blockaded the usurper in Milan. Then the generals of his staff, observing the terrible war-cloud that was gathering between the Don and the Danube,

became convinced that Gallienus must fall for the safety of the state. Toward the end of March, A.D. 268, they had him assassinated during a night sortie from the city, and bestowed the purple upon the best officer of the time, the general commanding in Illyricum, M. Aurelius Claudius, who was born in Dardania, May 10, A.D. 225.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS.

(A.D. 268-284.)

WITH Claudius II. (A.D. 268-270) begins the series of great Illyrian emperors. Within eighteen years there appeared at the head of the state a number of leaders from the provinces between the eastern Alps and the mountains of Thrace, who re-established the security of the frontiers and the union of the whole state, by bringing to an end the rival states of Gaul and Palmyra, but who found it more difficult to put down the hydra of usurpation. With the uncontested superiority of the Illyrian Romans in the army, and of the Illyrian emperors, the political supremacy also passed to these provinces, and the predominance of Italy was over.

Claudius II. was the saviour of the state in its direst need. He threw all his energy into the struggle, and was successful. As soon as he had settled with Aureolus, he turned to meet the hordes which, headed by the Goths and Heruli, in A.D. 269 swept down upon the empire. Three hundred and twenty thousand persons, including slaves, women, and children, advanced from the Dniester, partly by water, partly by land, against the Balkan peninsula, — but this time to their destruction. The attacks of their fleet upon the Grecian islands and the coasts of Greece were nowhere successful. The hordes that came against the army of Claudius, partly through Moesia, and partly by water to Thessalonica, and thence through Macedonia, were totally defeated, in the latter part of the year, in a three days' battle near Naissus (Nish). Fifty thousand Goths are said to have fallen.

When the victor of Naissus died of the plague at Sirmium, in March, A.D. 270, the Illyrian legions made their commander, L. Domitius Aurelianus, emperor. Born September 9, A.D. 214, the son of a peasant of Sirmium, and already a well-tried general, Aurelian resembled (Fig. 100) his predecessor in talent, but was of a rougher nature. Though loved by the troops, he was inexorably severe toward insubordination, and with a fatherly benevolence for the people was at

times very harsh toward the senate. Dacia, which could not be kept, he gave up entirely, transporting a part of the inhabitants to the right bank of the Danube. In the first half of A.D. 271 he drove out of Italy the Alamanni, who had penetrated far into the country, and made Rome a vast fortress by the construction of a massive encircling wall (Fig. 101), completed in A.D. 276, whose length on the left bank of the Tiber was 12,345 paces. He next turned to subdue Zenobia, who had gradually extended her authority to the gates of Chalcedon, and on Aurelian's accession had proclaimed her son emperor in the Orient. Lower Egypt and Alexandria, the latter after a hard struggle, were recovered for Rome, in A.D. 270, by Probus, afterward Aurelian's successor. Aurelian himself marched against the Palmyrene forces in A.D. 271. The armies of Zenobia were deserted by the Persians, and disastrously defeated, first at Antioch, and then at Emesa, so that in the spring of A.D. 272



FIG. 100. — Aurelian. Bronze coin, inscribed IMPERATOR CAIUS AVRELIANVS AVGVS. (From Imhoof-Blumer.)

the Romans could venture the difficult march across the desert to Palmyra. Zenobia was captured as she was fleeing to the Euphrates, and her capital surrendered. The queen was reserved to adorn Aurelian's triumphal procession in Rome. When he withdrew, the inhabitants of Palmyra again rebelled; but Aurelian returning from the Hellespont destroyed their city, and scattered the people. Armenia, however, and Mesopotamia were temporarily lost to the Romans. After his return to Italy the emperor had another great success. The Gallic pretender, Postumus, after a rule of ten years, was killed in a mutiny of his soldiers at Mayence. Victorinus, who seized the power, likewise fell by an assassin's hand; and Esuvius Tetricus, who succeeded him about A.D. 271, voluntarily offered to Aurelian, in A.D. 273, to reunite Gaul and Britain to the realm.

Aurelian was only partially successful in checking the disturbances in the finances. The fearful shrinkage in inflated values, entailed by his reduction, in A.D. 271 or A.D. 274, of the current silver coins to their actual worth, caused riots in Rome, which were quelled only by bloodshed. All save the imperial mints were closed throughout the realm, except in Alexandria. The right of coinage was withdrawn from the cities and the senate, and the emperor sought to coin the imperial money once more at its real value.

This great man fell, late in March, A.D. 275, at Perinthus, near

Constantinople, by a conspiracy of those about him. The generals of the army then intrusted to the senate the nomination of a new emperor; but the blunder was made of selecting, September 25, A.D. 275, M. Claudius Tacitus, an honest man with good intentions, but too old for the position. He was murdered at Tyana in April, A.D. 276. His brother, the prefect of the guard, M. Annius Florianus, was not able to maintain himself against M. Aurelius Probus, the general commanding in Syria, whom the army elected. Probus, the son of a land-owner at Sirmium, born August 19, A.D. 232, was regarded as the greatest hero and best man in the army. He had a noble and humane nature, and wished to establish perpetual peace, but was forced to employ his talents mainly in the command of armies. While his legates success-



FIG. 101. — Wall of Aurelian at Rome. Inside view. (From Reber.)

fully met the Franks, he himself turned against the Alamanni (A.D. 277), who from the Agri Decumates had threatened Helvetia and Central Gaul. Driving them over the Rhine and behind the Neckar, he constructed, at important points on the right bank of the Rhine, strong castles as defences for bridges. In A.D. 278 the piratical Isaurians, in Asia Minor, were subdued, and the Nubian Blemyes were driven out of Upper Egypt. The conflicts on the Rhine led to the settlement of many German prisoners in Gaul and Britain; and, in A.D. 279, large numbers of the German Bastarnae, fleeing from the Goths, were settled in Moesia and Thrace. But the excellent emperor gradually aroused the discontent of the soldiers, whom he kept busy in works for the benefit of agriculture, the drainage of swamps, and the laying out of vineyards, which he everywhere fostered. In the summer of A.D. 282

Probus's friend and general, M. Aurelius Carus, a Dalmatian from Narona, was set up by the mutinous troops in Rhaetia and Noricum, as a rival emperor; and Probus, who was engaged in constructing a canal at Sirmium, was murdered, in October, by his soldiers.

The new emperor, Carus, a stern old man, undertook the war against the Persians with vigor. His oldest son, the Caesar M. Aurelius Carinus, managed affairs in Rome and Gaul; but he himself, with his other son, the Caesar M. Aurelius Numerianus, set out for Asia, where, aided by the internal disturbances of the Persians, he reconquered Armenia and Mesopotamia. Even Ctesiphon fell into his hands. But the army had no mind to follow the emperor into the heart of Iran, and so put him to death in December, A.D. 283. Numerian was taken sick on the return of the army to the Bosphorus in A.D. 284; and when early in September one part of the army reached Chalcedon, and the other, with the young emperor, Perinthus, the soldiers discovered that he was dead. His father-in-law, the prefect of the guard, Arrius Aper, attempted to seize the purple, but, being strongly suspected of having murdered Numerian, was arrested. The officers at Chalcedon, in view of the disgraceful conduct of Carinus at Rome, raised, on September 17, A.D. 284, Diocles, the commander of the imperial body-guard, to be their emperor. This general, then in his thirty-ninth year, was born at Doclea, or Dioclea, near Scodra, in Dalmatia, of very low station. By extraordinary ability he had risen high in the army. He was very superstitious, like all his comrades, but a gifted administrator and of penetrating insight, great discretion, and resoluteness of purpose. He summoned Aper before his tribunal, and executed him for the murder of Numerian, either from superstitious motives, or, as has been suggested, because he was a confederate in his plans. He assumed the name of Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, by which he is known to history. The dynastic war with Carinus was brought to an end, in the summer of A.D. 285, on the lower Margus (Morava), in favor of Diocletian, mainly by the murder of Carinus by an officer whom he had wronged, while the issue of the conflict still wavered in the balance.

PART V.

THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE.

(A.D. 284-337.)

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN.

(A.D. 284-306.)

THE victory on the Margus gave the empire into the hand of a truly great man, who so energetically undertook the reform of the state, the laying of new foundations, the erection of new defences against internal and external attacks, that his most renowned successor, Constantine, found but comparatively little to add. The renewal of the state by these two men gave to the Rome of the West two centuries more of life, and to the Roman power of the East eleven centuries. Taking from the outworn system only the existing orders of civil functionaries and military officers, the new ruler substituted for the principate an absolute monarchy, and for the personal rule of the emperor and his military officers, that of a skilfully organized bureaucracy, a state of officials, at the side of which was placed, in the time of Constantine's first successor, the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

At first a new danger had quickly to be met. Among the results of the distress of the third century was the rise of the Bagaudae, a revolutionary movement of the peasants in northeastern Gaul, like the Jacquerie of France in the fourteenth century. The Bagaudae were exasperated by the pressure of taxes, by inroads of the enemy, and by the oppressions of the great land-owners and the city decurions. Diocletian's friend, Maximianus (Maximian), the son of a Sirmian peasant, a general of distinction but devoid of culture, who had been named Caesar, quelled the insurrection speedily and without unnecessary bloodshed. The emperor rewarded him by raising him, April 1,

A.D. 286, to the rank of Augustus, and making a systematic division with him of the government and the burden of business. Diocletian, whose usual residence was at Nicomedia in Asia Minor, kept for himself the countries from Rhaetia to the Euphrates and Egypt. To Maximianus, whose seat of government was Milan, were given Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The unity of the government was secured not so much by definite provisions, as from the fact that Diocletian was always regarded as 'chief emperor,' and as the leading spirit. Maximianus's next task was to defend the Rhine border against the threatening Alamanni and Burgundians. This from his headquarters at Mayence he did successfully, in A.D. 286. He was not, however, able to prevent the Low German Saxons and a part of the Franks from beginning their piratical expeditions against Britain and the north coast of Gaul. The difficulty of his task was increased by the revolt of his admiral, Carausius, who in A.D. 287, gaining over the fleet in the Channel, and securing Britain with its supplies of corn and cattle, its warlike population, and its important strategic position, took the title of emperor, and by enlisting Saxons and Franks was so successful against Maximianus and Diocletian, that in A.D. 290 they were forced to recognize him as Augustus. Subsequent ages were greatly affected by the settlement of multitudes of captive Franks by the emperors in A.D. 291 in northern Gaul, in the country between the Moselle and the Sambre. These *laeti*, who were much better off than the *coloni*, paid as peasants of the crown no poll-tax, but could not sell or abandon their farms at will, and were bound to defend the border.

Gradually Diocletian (Fig. 102) determined to divide the business and provinces of the state still further, and devised a very peculiar system of succession to the throne, by naming two of his best officers as Caesars, one to assist him, the other Maximianus. For the East he selected Galerius, originally a shepherd of Sardica, an able soldier with excellent qualities, but rough and violent, inclined to cruelty, and a zealous heathen. Flavius Constantius,¹ the Caesar of the West, was the son of the Dardanian Eutropius. His mother was the niece of Claudius Gothicus. Of brilliant military talents and high intelligence, he was simple and humane, combined great energy and force with amiability, and was averse to unnecessary harshness and the oppression of the people. On March 1, A.D. 293, at Diocletian's order, Galerius was solemnly invested with the purple at Nicomedia, in the presence

¹ Later historians name him 'Chlorus,' either on account of his pallor or more probably because white was his favorite color.

of the troops and the people; and on the same day at Milan, Maximianus invested Constantius with his new dignity. The new Caesars were then required to divorce their former wives. Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian; and Constantius, Theodora, Maximianus's step-daughter; and each Caesar was adopted by his Augustus as son.

The legal foundation of the state was an absolute monarchy. To

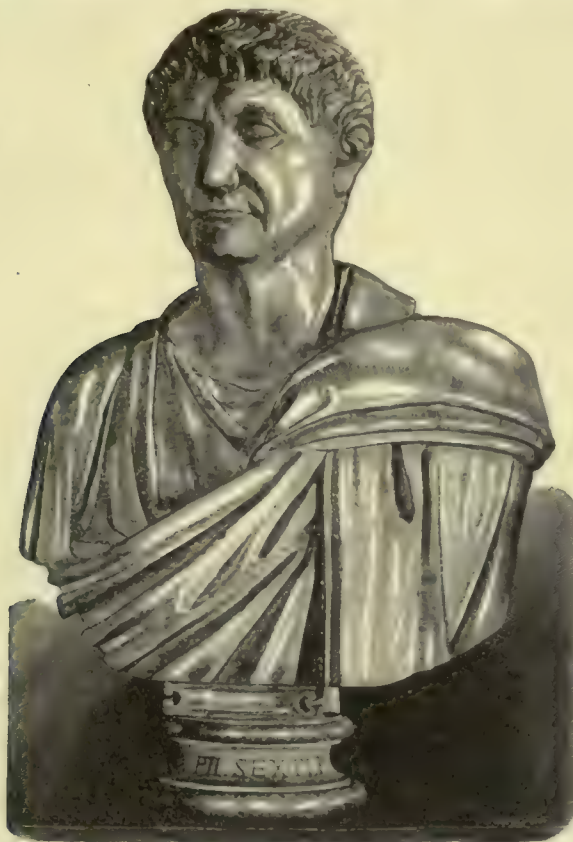


FIG. 102. — Diocletian. Antique marble bust in Rome, Vatican. (From a photograph.)

establish this, and to root out the evil of military insurrection, the succession was above all to be made perfectly sure. By sharing the government with three prominent men in the army, Diocletian hoped to satisfy their ambition, and to check the tendency to local revolts and to the murder of the emperor on trifling pretexts; for the sudden death of one regent would not, as heretofore, throw the whole state into confusion. The existing order had a strong support in the remaining

three, and a murdered emperor had his appointed avengers. The two Augusti were not to reign for life, but were to abdicate after twenty years, when the two Caesars were to take the position of Augusti, and in turn to appoint two new Caesars. The government was thus held by four regents, who perpetuated themselves by co-optation, while the younger, under the direction of the older, were schooled for their later position as Augusti.

At first Constantius received the government of Gaul, to which Britain was to be added, while Maximianus retained Italy, Rhaetia, Africa, and Spain. Galerius had Greece, with Crete, Macedonia, the Balkan peninsula, except Thrace, and the Illyrian provinces, and most of the Greek islands. In their respective districts the Caesars had supreme military and judicial authority, and a wide discretion in the administration of the finances and the execution of the laws. Legislation belonged to Diocletian alone.

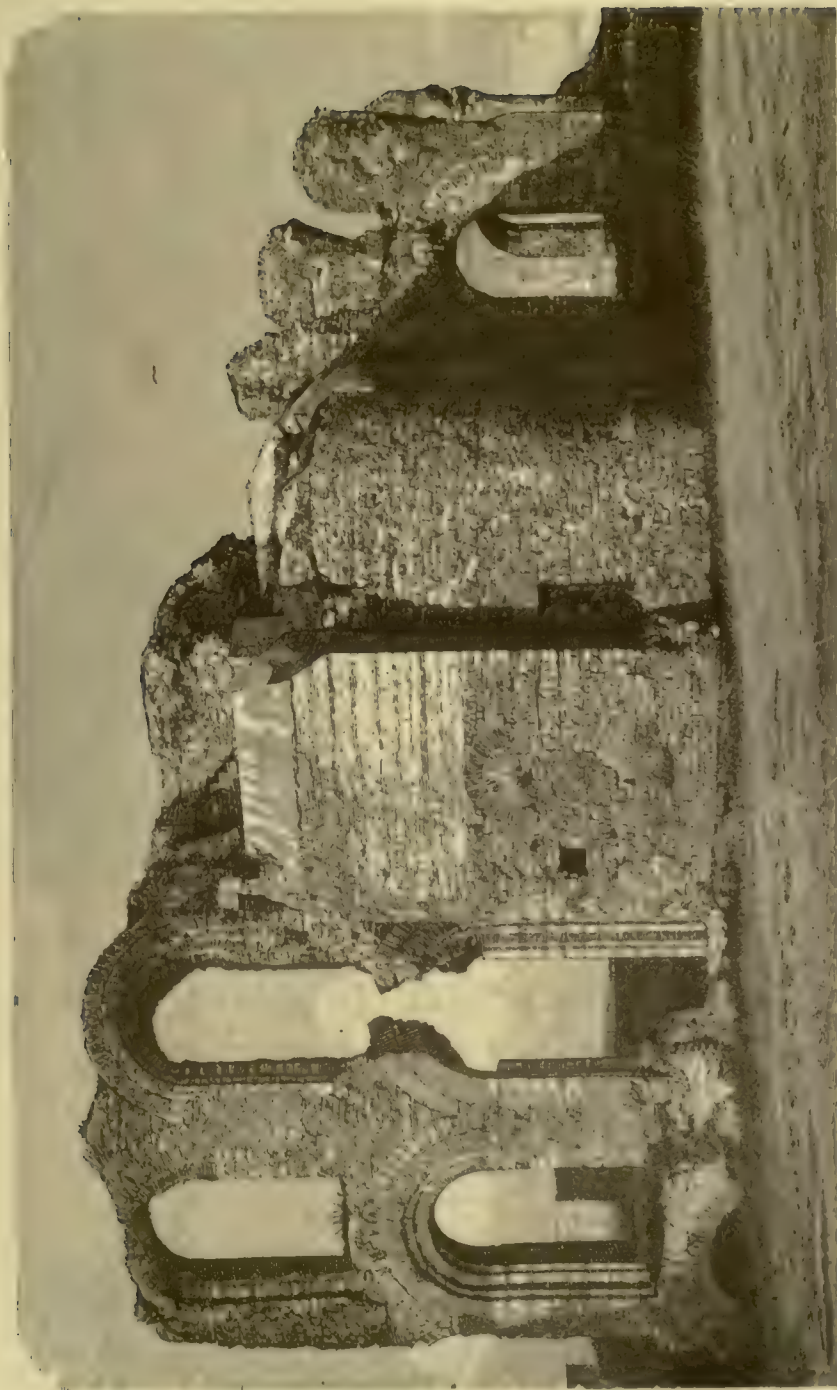


FIG. 103. — Silver coin of Diocletian, inscribed VICTORIAE SAR-MATICAE. In the field a fortress with open door. Below, *Sacra Moneta Nicomedia* P. *Sacra* means 'imperial,' and P 'the third,' *tertia officina*. (Berlin.)

The choice of the Caesars was justified. Constantius, who also made new settlements of Franks on the Somme and the Oise, was able, in A.D. 296, to recover Britain, after the overthrow of Carausius by Allectus, his praetorian prefect. He strove to restore the prosperity of Gaul, many of whose towns, like Autun and Treves (PLATE XVIII.) owed to him their prosperity. He defended the country with vigor and success against the Franks, and especially the Alamanni, over whom he won victories in

A.D. 298 at Langres, and at Vindonissa, and then erected strong defences along the line from Lake Constance to Strasburg and Mayence. Galerius successfully defended the Lower Danube, winning many successes over the Sarmatians (Fig. 103) and Carpi, and settling great numbers of the latter in Pannonia, in A.D. 295; while Diocletian, in A.D. 296, attacked Egypt, which had revolted at the beginning of his government. Alexandria was retaken by him early in A.D. 297, after a siege of eight months. Galerius then united forces with Diocletian; and they inflicted in the same year such a decisive defeat upon the Persian king Narses, that he was obliged to cede several provinces beyond the Tigris to the Romans. Southern Armenia, as far as Lake Van, was joined directly to the empire; and here was built the strong fortress of Amida (Diarbekir).

PLATE XVIII.



Remains of the Palace of the Caesars in Treves.

(From a photograph.)

The further labors of Diocletian relate to internal reforms. The emperors now reigned in their own right, no longer on the ground of a recognition by the senate. The theory of divine right was fully developed, and the monarch was no longer bound by the laws. The title *Dominus* ('Lord'), and the oriental custom of bending the knee, now became the official practice; and *Sacer* ('Holy') became the official designation for 'imperial.' At solemn audiences and festivals the emperor appeared with the diadem, the white circlet for the brow studded with pearls, and, after the fashion of the Persian kings, with garments embroidered with gold and precious stones. Approach to the sacred person of the emperor was rendered more difficult by new ceremonies, by guards and numerous officials of the palace, and granted only to those of certain rank. The emperors thus established their personal safety, and threw around their persons a new and impressive sanctity.

Italy, the ancient seat of empire, was henceforth treated like the provinces. Between A.D. 290 and A.D. 300 it was divided into a number of smaller official districts, presided over partly by *correctores*, partly by *consulares*. The immemorial freedom from taxation of the soil of Italy came to an end. Only Rome remained independent, with no governor, but in military administration and legal matters under the president of the police. The senate, now only an assembly of rich land-owners from all the provinces, became a political nonentity. Diocletian took no pains to secure its recognition at his accession, and afterward simply ignored it. Legislation was the exclusive right of the monarch. The dignity of the ordinary consulship bestowed by the emperors, and that of the honorary consulship given by the senate for certain duties, still remained.

The new order introduced by Diocletian, and completed by Constantius, culminated in the creation of great state offices, and in the formation of a well-organized bureaucracy, which for good and evil became the characteristic of the fourth century. As a consulting body for legislation and the highest jurisdiction, the privy council — the *consilium*, or 'consistorium' — held the first place. Separating entirely the civil from the military authority, Diocletian increased greatly the number of governorships by dividing the old provinces, and by uniting several divisions under a superior administration, to be an intermediary between the emperor and the provincial authorities. This organization was completed, as it would seem, in A.D. 297. Diocletian divided the empire into one hundred and one provinces, which were grouped

into twelve so-called *dioceses*,¹ of which the smallest, Britain, had four provinces, and the largest, 'Oriens' (Libya, Cyrene, Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia), had sixteen. This system was to render possible a closer administrative inspection of the provinces, and a more direct influence upon their life. In matters of law, an appeal was allowed to the praetorian prefect from the sentences of the governors. In other cases the prefect decided simply as the representative of the emperor, 'in the emperor's stead.' Under Constantine, in A.D. 331, there was no appeal from his decisions, although an appeal to the emperor himself from the other high courts was allowed.

The government of Diocletian must be considered as highly beneficent. Personally he was a man of high intelligence, of an astonishing activity, of honest purpose and fatherly benevolence, which became severity only when he believed the majesty of the empire was seriously threatened. If he closed his reign with a sad mistake, it is to be ascribed to the attitude which he assumed toward Christianity, when his deep religious feeling made him hope to strengthen the state by a revival of the old religions. Since Gallienus's time the Christians had become a power which it was impossible to overlook. The new religion had entered the army at all points in the realm. The number of educated men who from conviction had broken with their old religion, and found peace as members of the Christian community, was large. The Christians then numbered probably a twelfth of the entire population; in the West perhaps a fifteenth, but in the East a tenth. What they lacked in numbers they made up in vigor and organization. Their morality was much above that of the heathen masses; and in a time when every political interest seemed dead under the rule of the emperors and the soldiers, a new career for ambition and independence was opened in the church. But Diocletian saw in the church a state within his own, a state over whose inner life the sovereign power of the emperor had absolutely no influence, although in fact the Christians were in general his most peaceful and moral subjects. For many years he had shown himself their well-wisher rather than enemy, and at first had given them full freedom. But at last it became clear to him that in his state policy he must make himself the master of this powerful spiritual movement by placing himself at its head, or must strive against it with all his might as subversive of the foundations of the old order. To the latter course he was urged by the Caesar Galerius,

¹ The more familiar ecclesiastical sense of this word is borrowed from the political sense, and is of later origin.

by priests, soothsayers, and other opponents of the Christians. What motives finally led him, late in A.D. 302, to make war upon the Christians, cannot be ascertained. The conflict began by the demolition, by the imperial guard, on February 23, A.D. 303, of the great cathedral at Nicomedia, and by the issue on the next day of the edict that 'the Christian churches were to be torn down, all Christian writing delivered up and destroyed, and all assemblies for the worship of God forbidden. Christians holding positions of honor and dignity were to lose them in case they did not abjure their religion. Against Christians of every rank torture might be employed. Those of lower rank were to lose their rights as citizens; freedmen, under certain circumstances, their freedom; and slaves, as long as they remained Christians, could never gain their freedom.'

This move of the emperor at once called into new life the bold, death-defying spirit, the martyr courage of the Christians, that of old had so impressed the heathen. As soon, however, as the imperial authority was put in question, as soon as a trace of a Christian conspiracy and of political dangers appeared, Diocletian proceeded with frightful severity. A second edict ordered the arrest of all heads of the communities; a third ordered the discharge of those arrested if they would offer sacrifice, but to force all recalcitrants to this act. A fourth edict, in A.D. 304, extended this order to the laity. The form which this war against the Christians took in the various parts of the realm depended upon the character of the emperors and the Caesars, upon the personality of the individual governors and judges, and the character of the people of the country. The main body of the Christian communities everywhere made a determined opposition, and showed itself unconquerable. Diocletian and Galerius began the movement energetically; and in the West Maximianus followed their example in Italy, Africa, and Spain. The tolerant Constantius, on the contrary, who, like many cultivated heathen of the time, professed an indistinct monotheism, was able, being personally favorable to the Christians and benevolent by nature, to show indulgence, and limited himself to the destruction of a few churches. The persecution in the East was long and bloody, because the opposition of the Christians aroused to the highest degree the wrath of the Roman officials, who determined to break the stubbornness and the criminal disobedience of the Christians, which to them was incomprehensible. The provinces were filled with all abominations of torture, all horrors of execution, everything, in fact, that the savage natures, ingenious cruelty, and blind fury of angered

officials, brutal soldiers, and a fanatic mob could inflict upon defenceless opponents of both sexes.

The persecution came to an end when the conviction was acquired that it was impossible to exterminate the sect by force, and when changes occurred in the political condition of the state that called the attention of the sovereign away. The occasion was given by the retirement of Diocletian from the government, according to his intention. On May 1, A.D. 305, he announced his determination to the troops at Nicomedia, and proclaimed Galerius Augustus as his successor, while the nephew of Galerius, Daia Maximinus, was made Caesar of the East.

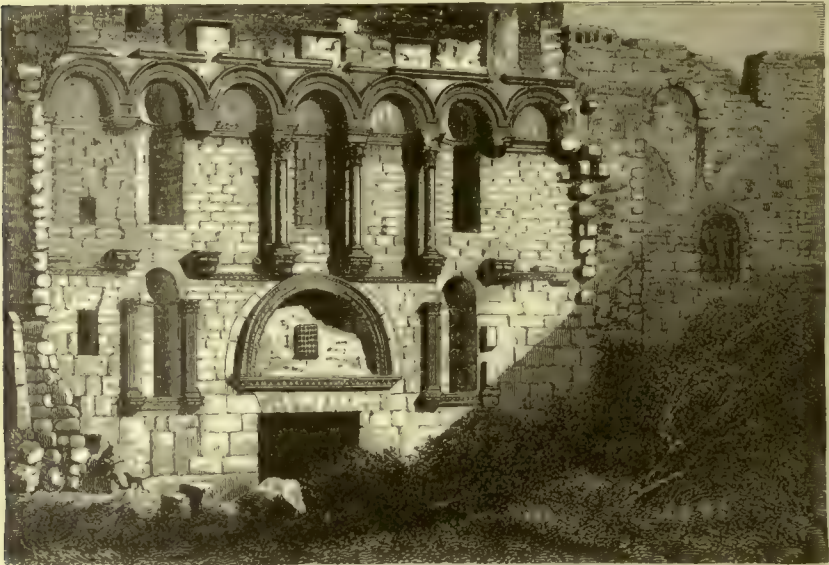


FIG. 104. — Part of Diocletian's palace at Salona (Spalato), in Dalmatia, (From Gailhabaud.)

On the same day Maximianus was forced to lay down the diadem at Milan. The chief imperial dignity now passed to the West, to Constantius; and the Illyrian general Severus became his Caesar. Maximianus retired to a villa in Lucania, while Diocletian sought the desired rest for his old age in his Dalmatian home, in a villa near the city of Salona (Fig. 104). At first his political system seemed to be fully justified by the intellectual superiority of Constantius to the other regents. But upon Constantius's early and unexpected death a dangerous oversight at once appeared; no provision had been made for the sons of the emperors. Flavius Valerius Constantinus, the son of Constantius by his first marriage with Helena, a maiden of low rank,

apparently from Mesopotamia, was born in Naissus, February 28, A.D. 274. His genius was matched by an equal ambition. By A.D. 293, as a handsome young man, of uncommon intrepidity, giant strength, and great intelligence, Constantine had shown his brilliant talents in the train of Diocletian. At the change in the succession in A.D. 305, he had become one of the foremost officers in Diocletian's court, and on his return to the West joined his father at the moment when he was embarking at Boulogne for Britain, to defend it against the attacks of the Scottish highlanders, the 'Picts,' who had become dangerous by the immigration of Scots from Ireland. When Constantine, after a brilliant campaign, died at York (Eboracum), July 25, A.D. 306, the dignity of chief emperor fell to Galerius, who was by no means fitted for the place; and the Caesar Severus, in Milan, became Augustus of the West. The army of Gaul enthusiastically proclaimed Constantine as Caesar, and the emperor Galerius could not refuse to ratify the choice. This example had the consequence that Galerius's own son-in-law, Maxentius, son of Maximianus by the Syrian Eutropia, was saluted as emperor on October 27, A.D. 306, by the praetorians and citizens in Rome, who were discontented with their position.



FIG. 105. — Maximianus.
Medallion inscribed :
VIRTVS MAXIMIANI
AVGUSTI. (From Im-
hoof-Blumer.)

When Severus, at Galerius's order, marched against the young usurper, the old troops of Maximianus, who composed his army, and did not wish to fight against Maximianus's son, revolted. Severus was blockaded in Ravenna by Maxentius and Maximianus (Fig. 105), who had again appeared as Augustus, and was forced to surrender early in A.D. 307. But a disagreement breaking out between Maximianus and his son, in which the soldiers decidedly took the part of Maxentius, Maximianus fled to Constantine, whom he found in April on the Rhine engaged in fighting the Germans, and sought to secure his co-operation. The wily Caesar readily accepted the rank of an Augustus, and took Maximianus's daughter Fausta to wife; but he went no further, not feeling strong enough, nor regarding it as advisable to mix in the political conflicts of the other rulers. Meantime, in the summer of A.D. 307, Galerius advanced with a strong force from Illyria against Rome, and Maxentius ordered Severus to be strangled; when Galerius, horrified to find that a part of his own army was untrustworthy,

evacuated Italy in all haste. Diocletian's recognized authority was now needed to restore order to the state. At a conference at Carnuntum, in November, A.D. 307, between Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximianus, the distinguished general C. Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius was intrusted (November 11), as 'Augustus, with the government of Pannonia and the Alpine countries. Maximinus and Constantine were at first to content themselves with the title of 'Sons of Augustus.' Maxentius was for the time ignored, and Maximianus again laid down the purple. But the state was not at rest. In A.D. 308 the ambitious Daia Maximinus, supported by his army, laid claim to the title of Augustus. Galerius, in his inability to subdue him, confirmed the title, and also gave it to Constantine, who was now forced to break with his restless father-in-law, Maximianus, as the latter had in A.D. 309 set on foot dangerous intrigues in Gaul against Constantine, and in consequence was put to death by strangling in A.D. 310.

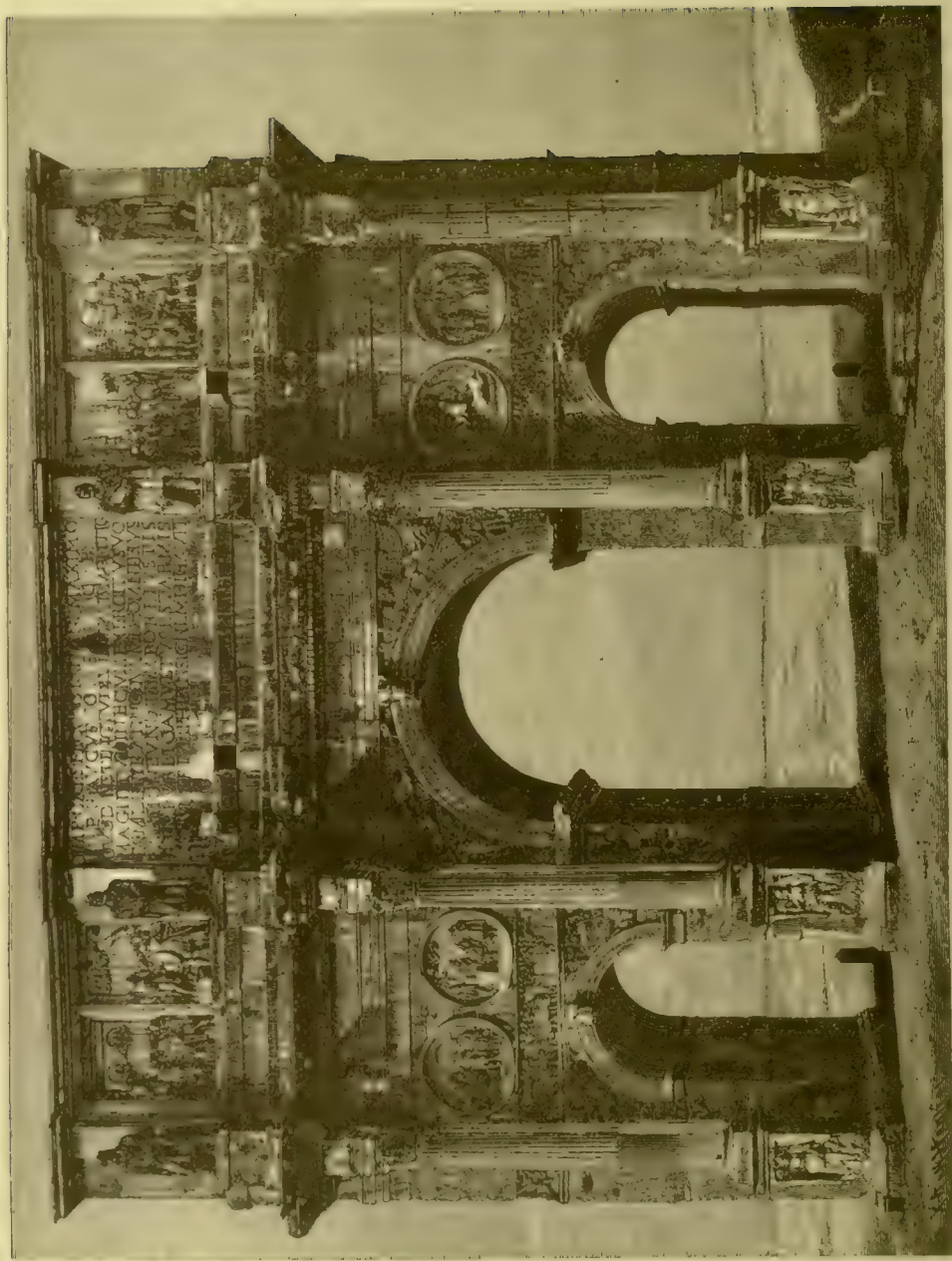


FIG. 106.—Gold coin of Constantine the Great. It represents captive ALEMANNIA, and is further inscribed GAUDDIVM ROMANORVM. (Berlin.)

Not long afterward Galerius became convinced that it was impossible to destroy the Christians. So he stopped the persecution, and united with Licinius and Constantine in issuing an edict of toleration, which was published at Nicomedia, April 30, A.D. 311. The Christian religion received an established and legal position under the condition that the Christians should submit to the laws; they were henceforth 'to pray to their God for the weal of the emperor and the state and for their own.' Galerius did not long survive this step, dying at Sardica in May, A.D. 311. Maximinus now claimed all Asia as far as the Grecian and Thracian waters, while Licinius took the Balkan peninsula.

Now, however, the young Gallic emperor, Constantine (Fig. 106) formed larger schemes, and sought to obtain a more extended sovereignty. Maximinus and Maxentius held together, and Constantine joined Licinius. In the beginning of A.D. 312 Maxentius, 'as avenger of his father,' declared war against the dreaded Constantine. Constantine crossed the Alps, cut off Maxentius's troops in detail, and finally routed the remnants of them at Saxa Rubra, nine miles north of Rome. Maxentius lost his life in the Tiber.

The victorious Constantine was greeted with acclamations in Rome. Henceforth the master of the entire western half of the



Triumphal Arch of Constantine the Great, in Rome.

(From a photograph.)

realm, he was shrewd enough to win the favor of the senate, which afterward dedicated in honor of the new emperor the basilica (Fig. 107) which had been begun by Maxentius, and erected, in A.D. 316, the magnificent triumphal arch that still stands to-day (PLATE XIX.).

The victory of Constantine became of chief importance to the world because he now took the first decisive steps toward the complete victory of Christianity. In the course of the war Constantine introduced among the old heathen symbols of the army a Christian token, causing the shields of his soldiers to be engraved with the monogram of the name of Christ, the interwoven letters XP. The



FIG. 107. — Ruins of the Basilica of Constantine in Rome. (From a photograph.)

Christians afterward related that it was done in consequence of a vision. In a few years the 'token of the Flavii' became the most common symbol of the conquering church. More far-reaching was the great measure which, early in A.D. 313, after issuing a new edict of toleration, he devised at Milan with Licinius (who then married his sister, Constantia). The new religious edict announced unlimited religious freedom for all, but especially for the Christians. Christianity was to be a religion with a sanction equal to any in the state. The church was recognized legally as a corporation. All its places of assembly, its church property, and the possessions of private persons that

had been confiscated during the persecution, were to be restored by the fiscus and by private persons. This edict by no means raised Christianity to the position of a state religion; it rather, by its concessions, put an end to the existence of a state religion. Practically, however, by establishing the free position of the church, it made the triumph of Christianity possible in the state. This daring deed of Constantine is one of the two steps that have established his reputation for all times as a statesman of genius. A man of intelligence and the keenest discernment, he had had time and opportunity, at the court of Diocletian and as independent ruler of the West, to become perfectly clear as to the policy which the empire must adopt toward the Christians and toward the old cults. He had seen that the old religion, though professed by a vast majority of the citizens, had become unsettled, intellectually powerless, and utterly unable to support the state. He decided not to look on while this new state within the state by its own power broke up or conquered the old order of things, but to place himself at the head of the new movement, and to make himself the master of it. He hoped, if he offered a hand to the church at once with wisdom and vigor, to be able to take into his service the strongest intellectual power of the time, — the unified, organized Christian world, the most vigorous and most living force in the realm besides the army, and by it to revivify and consolidate the crumbling empire.

CHAPTER XI.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

(A.D. 306-337.)

EARLY in A.D. 313, not long after the death of the aged Diocletian at Salona, and after his apotheosis had been decreed by the senate, a long expected conflict broke out between Maximinus and Licinius, in which the new ideas proclaimed at Milan came into conflict with the old religion. Maximinus was the first to open the war, advancing to Perinthus; but on April 30, A.D. 313, he lost a great battle between Perinthus and Adrianople. While engaged in collecting a new army in Cilicia he died at Tarsus, in July of that year. Licinius thus became, without opposition, the master of the entire eastern half of the realm. With the brutal purpose of rendering once for all a pretender impossible, he put to death at Nicomedia the families of Galerius, Severus, and Maximinus, and, in 314, beheaded at Thessalonica the widow and daughter of Diocletian. But he did not long enjoy his blood-stained power unopposed; for his reckless ambition, matched by that of Constantine, led to a bitter hostility between them that, in A.D. 314, culminated in war. With 25,000 veteran troops Constantine pushed from Italy into the district between the Drave and the Save. In October a battle was fought at Cibalis, northwest of Sirmium, in which Constantine with difficulty gained the victory. In a second battle, between Philippopolis and Adrianople, Licinius made such a stubborn resistance that Constantine thought it advisable to conclude an equitable peace, by which Licinius, in addition to the eastern provinces, retained Thrace and Lower Moesia.

During the following years of peace Constantine completed the monetary reforms begun in A.D. 312. The depreciation in the gold coinage he brought to an end by the simple expedient of reverting to weight, and thus revived among the citizens confidence in his system. The basis of the system was the new 'solid piece' of gold, the *solidus* (Fig. 108), estimated at 1.72 of a pound of gold, 80 grains (worth \$3). This coin kept its weight and fineness down to the time of the Comneni.

For the interchange of silver and gold Constantine issued a new silver piece, the *miliarese*, or *miliaresion* (worth about 21.5 cents), valued at the 1-1000 part of a pound of gold; 13½ or 14 of these made a *solidus*.

In the next years Constantine drew nearer to the Christian church (Figs. 109-111) and its representatives, doing much to aid the church externally, and giving it many valuable rights. But he also came to know the great difficulties which party spirit put in the way of even favorably disposed emperors. While he himself, notwithstanding his Christian mother, Helena, had no thought of enrolling himself among the catechumens of the church, he was surrounded by the bishops of the West, who instructed him in the mysteries of Christian doctrine, and especially discussed the controversies which began to agitate the church almost immediately after the end of the persecution. With



FIG. 108. — Constantine. The *solidus*, a gold coin. Obverse: Portrait of Constantine crowned with bay, inscribed CONSTANTINVS PIVS FELIX AVGSTVS. Reverse: VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVGSTI, with figure of Constantine crowned by Victory. At SIRMium, in Hungary, the coin was minted. (Berlin.)

its consciousness of victory, the church showed a desire for revenge against the heathen and a deplorable spirit of persecution against Christians whose beliefs varied from those generally held. Divisions arose within the church. An unrelenting hostility appeared to members of the community who during the persecution had shown themselves weak or even too worldly wise. The fiercest exhibition of fanaticism was in Africa, where from this time the Donatist faction, in connection with the social troubles of the peasantry, filled the country, till the coming

of the Vandals, with mad religious strife, with blood and smoking ruins. Constantine adopted the policy, in reference to the divided church, of definitely declaring himself in favor of one party, but not by any means persecuting its opponents.

In his church policy Licinius made dangerous mistakes. Disinclined to approve such extensive encouragement as Constantine was showing, he came to believe that the Christians of his realm were adherents of his opponent, of whose ambition he was suspicious; and in A.D. 319 he began to oppress them, so that they naturally became zealous supporters of Constantine. He did not, indeed, persecute them; but he had recourse to oppressive acts that at times looked like persecution. He endured no Christians at his court, and even made military service disagreeable for them. He discharged Christian officials, he



FIG. 109. — Ancient Christian sarcophagus, with scenes of the Passion (fourth or fifth century). Rome, Lateran. Five fields are formed by six Corinthian columns with spiral channellings. In the centre stands the Labarum upon a cross, and surrounded by a wreath, betokening the rewards of the future. At each arm of the cross is a dove plucking at the wreath, and symbolizing the hope of the crown of immortality shared with Christ. The two soldiers below probably refer to the watch at the tomb. In two of the scenes at the side, Christ stands before Pontius Pilate; the crown hanging above suggests the reward of those who confess him before men. On the other side a soldier places a wreath — not, however, the crown of thorns — upon the head of Christ. At the extreme left is Christ bearing his cross, and attended by a guard. The wreath above symbolizes the promised reward. (From a photograph.)



FIG. 110. — Ancient Christian sarcophagus; Rome, Lateran. The scallop-shell in the centre gives portraits of the deceased. The other reliefs contain scenes from the Old and New Testaments, not kept distinct: Lazarus brought to life; Peter's denial of his Lord, marked by the cock; Moses receiving the tables of the Law; Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac; Pilate washing his hands. Below: Moses striking the rock in the wilderness; perhaps the seizure of Peter; Daniel in the den of lions; Job; Christ giving sight to the blind; and the miracle of the loaves and fishes. (From a photograph.)



FIG. 111. — Ancient Christian sarcophagus (fifth century) (Trevi, Museum.) In the centre Noah's Ark, in which, with various animals, four men and four women are represented. At each side is a genius, seated upon an upturned basket, and weaving a chain of flowers. (From a photograph.)

forbade the synods of the bishops, and banished the Christian worship from the towns into the open country. There were cases of banishment, of condemnation to labor in the mines, of selling into slavery, even of prominent persons.

By A.D. 322 the struggle for the sole sovereignty could no longer be put off. Constantine took up his residence in Thessalonica, where he built a vast naval harbor, and gathered his fleet at the Piræus. Licinius assembled his in the Hellespont. He proclaimed himself an adherent of the old religion, and the coming conflict as a struggle between the old gods and the 'new strange god' to decide the religion of the empire. Constantine had an army of 120,000 infantry, comprising many Franks and Goths, and 10,000 cavalry and marines, and a fleet of 200 ships-of-war and 2000 transports. Licinius defended the Hellespont with 350 warships; and at Adrianople had 150,000 infantry, including many Goths, and 15,000 Asiatic horsemen. Constantine pushed up the valley of the Hebrus, and attacked his rival's well-chosen position at Adrianople, and forced him by a flank movement, on July 3, A.D. 323, to an engagement, in which Licinius was badly defeated. His position at Byzantium was made untenable by a great naval victory which Crispus, Constantine's gifted son by his first marriage, won in the Hellespont, at Callipolis. Licinius now occupied Chalcedon, and collected a new army from the Orient and by enlistments among the Goths. But in a second great battle fought on September 18, A.D. 323, at Chrysopolis, Licinius was utterly defeated, and of his 130,000 men brought back but 30,000 to Nicomedia. He then proposed negotiations through his wife, Constantia. Constantine promised to his sister the life of her husband. Licinius surrendered, laid down the purple, and was sent to Thessalonica, where he was strangled, in May, A.D. 324. Constantine was now sole ruler throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire. To his subjects in the East he immediately announced his religious policy, a reassertion of the Milan decree, more vigorously expressed and more definitely in favor of the Christians, yet breathing the spirit of toleration and assuring freedom of conscience.

Constantine found the church of the East disturbed by internal dissensions over matters of dogma. Indeed, the inclination of the Greeks to philosophical speculation was from the beginning definitely felt in the church. A conflict now broke out over the question of Christ's person, which could not be settled, like some earlier differences, but soon divided the church permanently into two hostile camps, and became the source of countless ills. The doctrine of the presbyter Arius,

of Alexandria, concerning the relation 'of the Son to the Father,' and his theory of the 'created' Christ, who although God, God in the full sense and existing 'before time,' was not to be held 'eternal,' had divided first the Alexandrine church, about A.D. 318, and A.D. 321 the entire church of the East, down to the lowest ranks of the people. Constantine speedily decided on the course to be taken in this question, which enabled him to overcome and bind the victorious church, and to turn it into a powerful instrument of his power. The authority of the emperor was to determine the dogmatic form and inner life of Christianity. To compose difficulties, and to assure the unity of the church, he resolved to secure a decision from a general council. At his invitation there came to Nice (Nicaea), in Bithynia, in June, A.D. 325, about 318 bishops, mostly Oriental, and a numerous company of priests and laymen. Although Constantine did not belong to the church, he directed the deliberations; and it later became the custom for the emperors to designate the time and place of the councils, and, if they did not themselves appear, to appoint commissioners to conduct them. Three parties appeared at the Council of Nice,—the supporters of Arius, many of undecided attitude, and the opponents of Arius, who were led by the Spanish bishop Hosius of Corduba, and the young deacon of the bishop of Alexandria, the gifted and fiery orator, Athanasius. The 'orthodox' party championed the idea of 'the eternity of the Son' and his eternal generation, and expressed the unfathomable mystery of the equal eternity of the Father and the Son by the word *homousios* ('of the same essence'), as contrasted with *homoiousios* ('of like essence'). This party first secured Constantine, and then, by his co-operation, obtained the victory in the council, which decided for the formula 'homousios,' and, with additions in the same sense, declared its belief in a creed which is known as the Nicene Creed. Arius and two Egyptian bishops, who alone refused their signatures, were deposed and sent to Illyria; but this was the beginning for church and state of long and bitter dogmatic conflicts.

Immediately after the council Constantine horrified Christians and heathens alike by the darkest deeds of his life, of which the true motive has never come to light. At his command his oldest son, Crispus, beloved by the people and the army, was put to death in Pola in Dalmatia, in the summer of A.D. 326; and not long after the empress Fausta was strangled in her bath. It is probable that Constantine had become jealous of his brilliant son, the best man among the young generation of his house, and that the bad relations between father and son

were fostered by the intrigues of the empress, who labored for her own children, and that afterward in his wild remorse the emperor made Fausta suffer for her guilt and his own.

Attention was turned away from these deeds of blood to the founding of a new capital, to which Constantine was driven by an unavoidable necessity. Rome, already degraded by Diocletian, could no longer remain the capital, when the cross had won the victory over the gods of Olympus. For the central point of a state that was to be governed according to new methods, Constantine needed new soil, and a residence and population free from traditions and precedents. And he displayed true genius in selecting, as the site of his 'New Rome,' the peninsula between the Propontis, the Golden Horn, and the Bosphorus. All subsequent history shows what advantage this site offered, not only for the military, political, and commercial development of the city itself, but also for holding firmly together a great empire extending over three continents. The offensive and defensive strength of the Illyrian provinces was largely increased by the great fortress on the Golden Horn, by whose sole strength the existence of the Byzantine state was preserved to the middle of the fifteenth century. Constantine extended the narrow site of the old



FIG. 112. — Constantine's Column in Constantinople. This column, like Trajan's in Rome, was covered with reliefs ascending in a spiral band: it was struck by lightning in 1101 A.D. (From a photograph.)

Greek city of Byzantium considerably to the west. The foundation-stone of the encircling wall, which defended the city on the land side, was laid by the emperor in person, November 4, A.D. 328. He pushed the construction of the wall, and of numerous buildings for public use and adornment (Fig. 112), with such energy that the 'consecration' of the new city, which already was popularly called Constantinople, could be solemnly performed on May 11, A.D. 330. To people his city as speedily as possible, Constantine employed all possible means to attract settlers. The community was endowed with all the rights and privileges of the old capital on the Tiber, and together with the 'Italian right' received freedom from imperial taxation; individual settlers received great advantages, and, as in Rome, the poor had distributed to them corn, wine, meat, and oil. To adorn his new city the emperor directed his officials, especially in the Greek provinces, to bring to the Bosphorus, from abandoned or unnecessary temples and from cities rich in works of art, great quantities of artistic treasures.

Though Constantine had become the sole ruler, he still continued the fourfold division of the state for administrative purposes — the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul. There were four prefectures (as above), fourteen dioceses, and one hundred and twenty provinces. At the head of the state was the court with its officers, influenced often by the women of the imperial household, and also by the Christian clergy. There were five great officers of political importance. At the head of the court stood the 'Prefect of the sacred bedchamber,' the imperial High-Chamberlain. The *Magister Officiorum* was Marshal of the Palace and State-Chancellor, standing at the head of all general legislative and constitutional interests, of justice and administration, and especially of foreign affairs, and delivered to the emperor only reports. The Quaestor, a sort of cabinet minister, alone had the right of speaking with the emperor; he received the plans of the emperor, and drafted them in the form determined by him. The minister of finance, the 'Count of the Sacred Largesses,' had the chief direction of the direct and indirect taxes, the superintendence of tributes in kind, of public transportation, the administration of the state treasure, the oversight of the fiscal relations of trade, of the income of mines and the mints, of the warehouses and the many manufactures carried on for the state. Finally the 'Count of the Sacred Patrimony,' in fact the imperial treasurer, was intrusted with the administration of the crown treasure, which now was again separated from the state treasury, and

of the state domains. Equal in rank to these ministers, and reckoned among the court officers, were the two commanders of the imperial body-guard, the *domestici et protectores*, — the palace troops of foot and horse. The *primicerius* or chief of the notaries kept the 'Great Book,' which was a list of all civil and military offices and titles. There was, besides, the grand council, or *consistorium*, in which the praetorian prefect resident at the court, the great generals there, the state chancellor, the quaestor, the two finance ministers, and an indefinite number of 'comites' or privy councillors, had each a seat and voice.

At the head of the provincial officials were the chiefs of the four great prefectures, — at Constantinople for the Orient, at Sirmium for Illyricum, at Milan for Italy, at Treves for Gaul, — who stood in the place of the emperor, and were called Praetorian Prefects. In their respective governments they were supreme in the administration and finance, and as representatives of the highest court in the state had power over life and death. In each diocese the prefects had a representative, known as the *vicarius*, except that the Dacian diocese was directly administered by the Illyrian prefect, and the West-Illyrian diocese by the Italian prefect. The civil governors for the provinces were three proconsuls, thirty-seven *consulares*, seventy-one *praesides*, and five *correctores*. All these were regularly judges, of first instance for certain classes of legal cases, and partly of higher resort for appeals from the municipal courts. Save in the districts of the proconsuls, appeals could be taken from these judges directly to the vicar or the prefect. This whole system also rested upon a minutely subdivided and very numerous mass of lower officials.

With the change from a military state into a great bureaucracy was connected an elaborate arrangement of rank and titles. The state provided liberally for its servants, and with the salary came many privileges and exemptions which increased with each grade. These became more and more extensive, and more oppressive for the masses of the population, especially for the *decuriones*, who were assigned to the conduct of city offices, and were forced to assume burdens from which the law released the officials of the state and the court. In distinction from the senatorial and municipal aristocracy, there arose out of the families of these officials, whose privileges were hereditary, a new nobility of office. And yet in matters of politics and morals, as well as of service, these officials were the objects of the deep and unconcealed mistrust that the absolute monarchy inherited from the

principate. To obviate danger, the system was retained of keeping men in the same offices for a short time only. The moral wrongs of official life, the tendency to malignant intrigues, to cruelty, treachery, corruption, and extortion, were rarely dealt with successfully, even by Constantine's severe laws and the exertions of benevolent emperors.

At the head of the remodelled army stood two *magistri militum*, a general of the infantry and a general of the cavalry. The number was raised to four under Constantius II., and thus continued till Theodosius I. The army was considerably enlarged. The system begun by Alexander Severus, of defending the frontiers by settlements of bodies of soldiers destined for this service, was completed. These troops, the border militia (*riparienses*, *castriciani*, or *castrensi*) sufficed for the defence of the country as long as there was no serious war, and were formed by preference from the inhabitants of the exposed provinces. When this was impracticable, soldiers were colonized from other sections. These 'borderers' were under the command of the chief general of their province, and were supported by part of the regular troops of lower grade, the garrison troops (*pseudo-comitatenses*). The great army of the state was divided into the picked divisions of the guard, the *palatini*, and the *comitatenses*, the real army of the line. The practice continued of filling the Palatine and Comitatusian legions solely with Roman and Romanized soldiers. But the infantry divisions of the auxiliaries and the cavalry consisted almost wholly of foreigners, many of whom were Germans.

Constantine gave up the practice, common since Augustus, of gathering the entire army on the frontiers, and withdrew most of the regular troops into the interior, stationing them in or near prominent towns. The breaking up of the army into a large number of independent divisions of slight strength, and the formation of groups definitely subordinated to one another in rank, pay, and rights, served to avert the dangers which, from the murder of Alexander Severus to the accession of Diocletian, had come from mutinous armies and ambitious generals. From the time of Constantine, who led his troops from victory to victory, the tradition of the irresistible power of Roman arms again revived, and the consciousness of Roman strength lasted to the days of Aëtius.

Of no less importance was the system of financial administration. In themselves the sums demanded were not excessive; but the system of collecting taxes was so vicious and oppressive that these were endurable only when the emperors were intelligent and economical,

and when the governors were honest, and kept sharp watch over their officers. Aside from monopolies and prerogatives, the main income of the state came from the tax on land, which fell upon the land-holding class, and had been extended by Diocletian to Italy, and all places hitherto free from taxation, including Athens. The *negotiatores*, merchants, manufacturers, and those engaged in industrial pursuits, had to pay a 'personal' tax, graduated according to the property and the profits of the industry. It became customary to unite all the *negotiatores* of a city into a corporation, upon which the tax was assessed in a gross sum, *chrysargyrum*. The old capitation tax fell heavily upon the *coloni* of the country districts. Their poll-tax was paid by the master of the estate to which they belonged, together with the land-tax, and was, of course, drawn from them. There was connected with the administration of the taxes the cycle of fifteen years, known as the Indiction, which began with A.D. 312, and is of great importance for the chronology of later Roman and of Byzantine history.

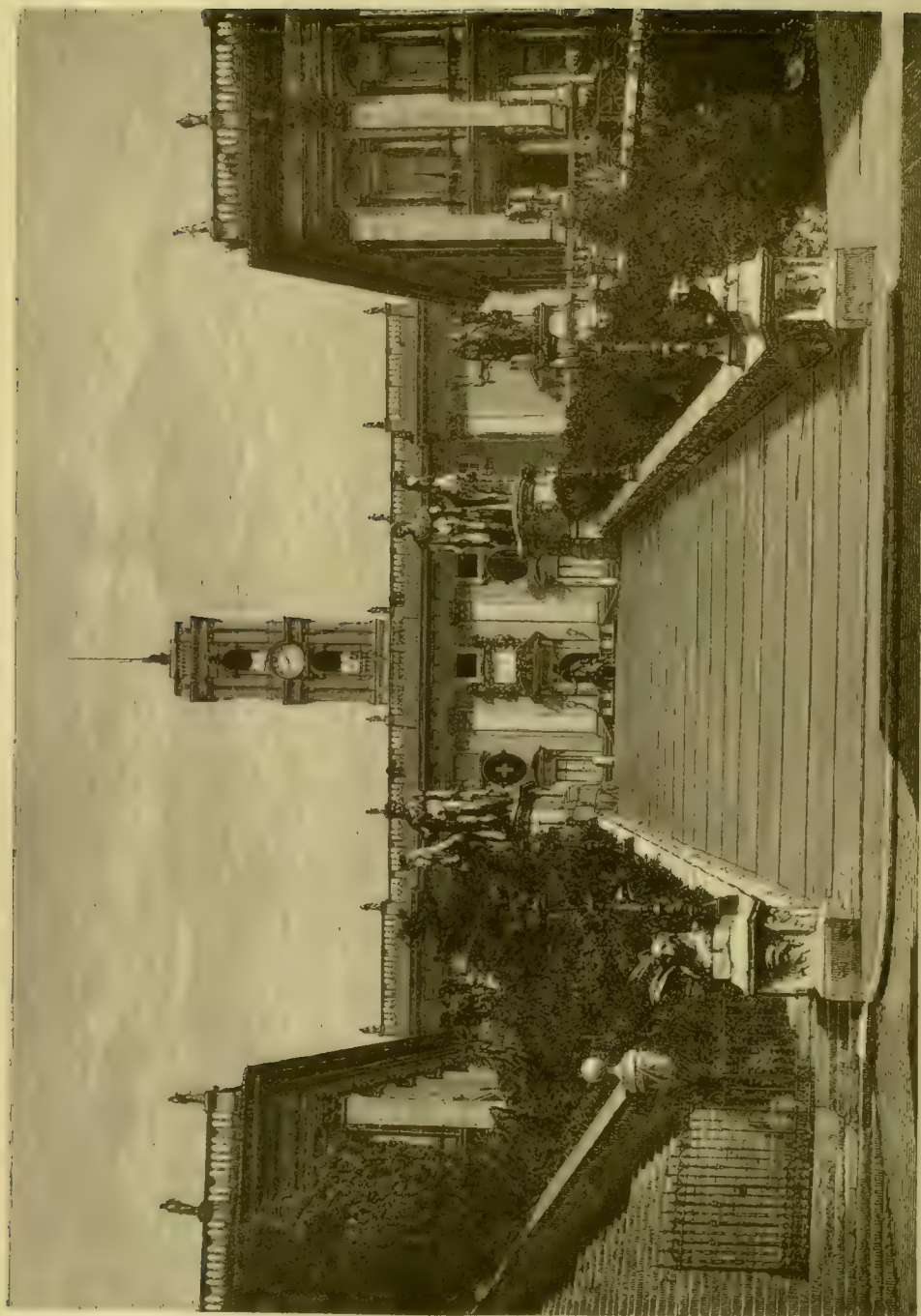
The postal system zealously promoted by Constantine, with its enforced service of persons and horses, was a heavy burden. There were many imposts and duties. The raising of the direct taxes could not be freed from extortion and violence of every sort, the besetting sin of Roman officials. The hardest lot was that of the city decurions, who had the task of delivering to the state treasury the land-tax assessed upon their tax district. They were obliged to apportion the amounts according to the census lists among the possessors, to be responsible for the payment of the entire levy, and had to make good the deficiencies from their own property. The decurions had also to bear other burdens, which steadily increased as the general government put upon the cities various expenses such as the establishment of institutions of learning.

The last years of Constantine's reign were meagre in political measures. In religious matters, while he more decidedly favored the Christian church, as pontifex maximus of the Roman state he held to the end to the principle that in political life, and before the law, there should be no distinction between heathen and Christian citizens; and the equality was maintained in the public and court service. He soon discovered that the decision of Nice was not sufficient to restore peace to the church, and that Arianism was steadily gaining ground. He tried to bring about a settlement; and when the Arians saw the disposition of the emperor to harmony, Arius found a form which made a reconciliation possible. But on his undertaking to assume again his

place as pastor in Alexandria, the bishop, who since A.D. 328 was the powerful Athanasius, the ideal type of orthodox priesthood, the most determined opponent of Arianism, opposed the request, and later even the threats of the emperor. In A.D. 335 Athanasius was overthrown in a council at Tyre, where his opponents in dogma had the majority, and was sent by Constantine into a mild exile at Treves. Arius, however, died (A.D. 336) at Constantinople under very suspicious circumstances, on the day before he was to be solemnly restored to communion with the church.

The predominant quality of Constantine's character was desire for power, directed toward the highest objects, resting upon wonderful intelligence, great knowledge of mankind, sound judgment, rare diplomatic gifts, and ability in political affairs to wait for the fitting moment and to strike swiftly; and upon heroic vigor, military genius, and energy of will that shrank from no obstacle, from no artifice or violence. Vulgar traits and tendency to excess have never been ascribed to him, even by his enemies; but there was a marked difference between the beginning and end of his reign. His severity, his passions, and the faults of his character, appeared more and more frequently, yet he retained his intelligence and energy as a lawgiver. Until the end he personally gave audiences to the deputations, and listened to the complaints of the provinces. But his ambition became vanity and love of praise. His energy and restless activity turned to caprice, and even into prodigality. The mystery of his mental attitude toward the doctrines of the church, for which he prepared the way to power, remains unexplained. This stern statesman, this passionate master of his own household, who could issue orders for the death of Licinius, Crispus, and Fausta, was from the point of view of morals a pagan of the old school, and of the spiritual demands of Christianity had scarcely a conception. It is doubtful if the struggle between the Christian confessors aroused in him a genuine interest; and we know not whether his religious thoughts went beyond the clear perception of the political power of Christianity and of the Christian spirit.

Sapor II., grandson of the Persian king Narses, who reigned in Ctesiphon from A.D. 309 to 380, a vigorous ruler, wishing to wipe out the disgrace of his grandfather (p. 218), demanded the return of the country given up by him, and thus forced Constantine again to take up arms. One of his sons, the Caesar Constantius, was already on the Persian frontier; and Constantine himself was setting out for the seat of war, when he fell sick in Easter week of A.D. 337. Having been



Approach to the Capitol, Rome. (From a photograph.)

Directly at the centre, in the background, the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius; at the right and left the colossal statues of the Dioscuri; at the spectator's right the statue of the Emperor Constantine and the *milliarium*, or mile-stone column, of Vespaian and Nerva.

admitted a catechumen in the Church of the Martyrs at Helenopolis in Bithynia, he caused himself to be taken to Nicomedia, was baptized on Easter Day by Bishop Eusebius, and died on May 22, A.D. 337.¹

Constantine was convinced, after the death of Crispus, that none among the princes of his house possessed the vigor and talent to govern the whole realm. He therefore proposed to confer different parts, in the form of separate governments, upon his three sons by Fausta, and upon two sons of his step-brother. Before his death his sons had already been made Caesars, — the eldest, Constantine II. (born A.D. 316), in A.D. 317, the second, Constantius (born A.D. 317), in A.D. 323; and Constans, the youngest (born A.D. 323), toward the end of A.D. 333. In A.D. 335 Constantine II. had been intrusted with the administration of the Gallic prefecture; Constans with Italy, Africa, and the Illyrian provinces. The Caesar Dalmatius, son of the emperor's step-brother, had received Thrace, Constantinople, Macedonia, and Achaia; and Constantius had received the entire East beyond the Propontis. In the Orient, Hannibalianus, a brother of Dalmatius, was to govern Pontus, Lesser Armenia, and Cappadocia. But this plan failed soon after the death of the great emperor, through a series of dark intrigues which were formed by the supporters of Constantius. Dalmatius, Hannibalianus, and nearly all others who stood nearest the succession, were put to death; and on September 9, A.D. 337, the senate proclaimed the three sons of Constantine as joint emperors.

¹ The Roman senate conferred apotheosis upon this baptized emperor. His statue stood near the approach to the Capitol (PLATE XX.). The Eastern Church, whose priests named him "Equal of the Apostles," the Armenian, and the Russian honor him as a 'saint,' and celebrate his festival on May 21. The Roman Church has not canonized him.

PART VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE TO THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS I.

(A.D. 337-395.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE AND THE PANNONIAN EMPERORS.

(A.D. 337-375.)

IN the period that followed Constantine, though, in spite of foreign and dynastic struggles, the scenes of terror of the third century were not repeated, the peoples of the state, whose material resources were already greatly exhausted, were made to feel keenly at how fearful a price the existence of the Roman supremacy was purchased. Three powers in particular united to hold the realm together, the increased army, the bureaucracy, and the severe administration of the finances. It was not only that vast sums of money were needed for these, and for the court, so that the pressure of taxation made the condition of the middle classes one of splendid misery, but important factors were the oppression and wantonness of the officials, and the increasing cruelty of justice, against whose outrages the growing power of the Christian bishops rendered the only help. The tendency to a caste-like organization in the decurionate, in the guilds, among the *coloni*, and the sons of veterans, was a heavy price to pay for the preservation of the state. Fresh life was shown only by the two new powers that were to completely transform the ancient world, though for a time they supported the Roman state, — the Germans and the Church.

Even in Constantine's time appeared the beginning of the Byzantine system, which laid the chief stress upon preserving the framework of the state, and strove to fill the terrible gaps in the population by improvident settlements of strange material. Under Constantine the

introduction of vast masses of Germans into the realm continued; German settlers filled the eastern half of Gaul, and the provinces along the Danube, as free peasants, *laeti*, *coloni*, and slaves. German warriors, especially Goths and Franks, fought the battles of the Romans; and in the army, as in all civil relations except the church, Romanized, and even native, Germans crowded into low and high positions. The church maintained its pre-eminence, drawing to itself most of the energies of the time, and early gave rise to an important literature and a peculiar Christian style in architecture, painting, and sculpture. The great heathen majority was crumbling away, though many passed over to Christianity in a purely formal manner without any inner conviction. By the side of the incessant warfare waged against the old religions went the violent conflict within the church between the Arians and Athanasians, which weakened the moral power of the new religion. The moral level of the Christian community was far above that of its opponents; acts of charity and love within the Christian world and the efforts of Christians to relieve the misery of the masses, together with the abominations of Roman justice, secured to the bishops an increasing moral influence — although the time had already come when in some centres, like Rome and Alexandria, the conflict for the possession of the spiritual throne led to scenes of violence. Within the church there arose an increasing asceticism and the tendency to retire from the world. In Egypt, particularly in the Thebaid, the Christian hermits had already appeared; about the middle of the fourth century colonies of monks were gradually formed, which soon led to actual cloister life (Fig. 113). In Italy and Gaul monachism was adopted toward the end of the fourth century.

The most stubborn intellectual opposition to the progress of Christianity came from ‘Hellenism,’ in which was concentrated the opposition of all the adherents of the old order, — on the one side the university of Athens, which enjoyed once again a period of prosperity, and on the other the Neo-Platonic philosophy. Neo-Platonism, which began in the school of Plotinus (A.D. 205–270), at Alexandria, and united many Oriental conceptions with the old Platonic ideas supplemented from Aristotle, ministered to the desire for marvels, and the fanaticism of the age, and while tending to elevate morality and an ascetic life, brought magic into its service, and in the so-called ‘theurgy’ summoned and exorcised gods, demons, and departed souls. This mode of thought, transplanted to Athens in the time of the Emperor Julian, gave to the university during the fifth century its last importance.



FIG. 113. — The Cloisters of St. Paul-without-the-Walls, at Rome. (From Gailhabaud.)

In the summer of A.D. 338 the new masters of the world more exactly divided their spoil. The government of the East, Constantinople, and Thrace, was given to Constantius II. Constans (Fig. 114) received the Illyrian and Italian prefectures, and Constantine II. (Fig.

115) the Gallic with a part of northern Africa. In April, A.D. 340, Constantine II. met his death at Aquileia in an attack upon the kingdom of his brother, and the entire West fell into the hand of Constans. In A.D. 350 his brother Constantius II., who, since A.D. 338, had been occupied in a Persian war, that as usual had been carried on along the frontiers of Armenia and Mesopotamia without decisive battles, and had seen the attacks of the Iranians broken against the strong fortress of Nisibis, heard that Constans, who had gained the ill-will of the troops by his blunders, had been dethroned and murdered by a usurper, the general Magnentius, the son of a Frankish *laetus*. Only the elevation of the general Vetranio by his soldiers to be the emperor of Illyricum prevented Magnentius from immediately extending his power as far as Adrianople. Constantius, by crafty intrigues, gained over Vetranio and displaced him; he then attacked Magnentius, who called into his service great masses of Franks and Saxons. A sanguinary engagement at Mursa (Essek) on the Drave, September 28, A.D. 351, in which 54,000 soldiers fell, turned out in favor of Constantius. To overthrow completely his stubborn opponent, the emperor had recourse to a measure that was too often employed in subsequent times by the suicidal folly of the Roman rulers. He persuaded the Alamanni to make a great invasion of Gaul, and in the summer of A.D. 353 gained the upper hand over Magnentius, who killed himself at Lyons. Constantius, now sole ruler of the state, was unable to turn back the Alamanni, who marched on Autun, while in A.D. 355 Cologne and the left bank of the Rhine were lost to the Franks. He determined to send to Gaul, as the only means of saving the country, his cousin, the Caesar Flavius Claudius Julianus.

The suspicious emperor was very loth to take this step. He knew that Julian, who was in his seventh year when he escaped the 'massacre of the princes' (p. 239), had no reason to love him, and that this versatile and highly gifted prince, whom he had constantly kept out of public life, was well aware of the mistrust with which he was pursued. Only a few trusted friends of Julian, however, knew that the prince, whom a monastic training and the hard experiences of his youth had



FIG. 114. — Silver coin of Constans, son of Constantine the Great. The emperor holds the labarum, with the monogram for Christ. At Siscia, in Pannonia, the coin was struck.

filled with a deep abhorrence for Christianity, had been won over by the Neo-Platonists in Nicomedia to yearnings for the splendor of Grecian antiquity, and that in the summer of A.D. 355, while pursuing his studies in Athens, he had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Constantius named his cousin as Caesar, November 6, A.D. 355, so that by sending him to Gaul he might inspire the people with confidence in the good will of the government. Everything possible, however, was done by knavish subordinates to put obstacles in Julian's way, and to bring about his overthrow. But Julian, the ablest man of the later Constantines, was a hero and a statesman; and his brilliant talents as general and regent soon triumphed over all difficulties. He was



FIG. 115. — Constantius II. Gold medallion, weighing one-eighth of a pound (nine solidi). Inscribed: *Dominus noster CONSTANTIVS MAXIMVS AVGVSTVS* — the son of Constantine the Great. Reverse: the emperor in triumph, in a chariot drawn by six horses. In the exergue, A N, indicating the mint at Antioch: tokens bestowed at a triumph — three wreaths, three necklaces (*torques*), a vessel filled to overflowing with gold pieces. Original size. Unique specimen. (Berlin, Royal Cabinet of Coins.)

able in A.D. 356 to win back Cologne with the left bank of the Rhine; and his great victory at Strasburg in A.D. 357 over the Alamannic king, Chnodomar, followed by important successes in A.D. 358 on the Lower, and in A.D. 359 on the Upper, Rhine, made him the idol of his army. He won the attachment of the people by his intelligent government, his mildness, and skilful management of the finances, which enabled him to reduce the land-tax to less than a third of what had been exacted by his predecessors.

The Emperor Constantius had meantime become unpopular throughout the empire. A man of many excellent qualities, of great activity as a prince, faithful to duty, chaste and temperate, he was yet petty, hard, gloomy, and unsympathetic. Naturally ambitious, he had a sus-

picious character, which with his utter lack of magnanimity repeatedly enabled his ministers to urge him on to deeds of blood and shame, that recalled the worst days of Tiberius or Domitian. His persecutions of the followers of Magnentius in A.D. 353 made him bitterly hated in the West, and his church policy had the same effect on the East. Abandoning the prudent position of his father, as early as A.D. 341 he issued a severe edict against 'superstition,' as heathenism was now officially termed, declaring war upon it, and calling in question the rights of the old religion; and finally, after the overthrow of Magnentius, he ordered the closing of the temples, forbade the sacrifices, threatened the disobedient with heavy penalties, everywhere withdrew their splendor from the old cults, and made Christianity the state religion. Practically, owing to the still great majority of the heathen, this programme could be carried out only incompletely; most of the provincial officials were careful, or allowed themselves to be bribed, not to execute these orders with severity. The time was still many years distant, when heathens, and supporters of the Christian confession that was then proscribed, were excluded from official positions. Within the church, Constantius began the fatal policy of allowing the party he favored — the Arians — free opportunity for violence and persecution against their opponents, from whom they strove to wrest the churches, and to take the free exercise of their worship. Zealously endeavoring to establish 'unity of faith' in the Christian world, Constantius called one council after another. At last, in A.D. 359, at the councils of Rimini, and of Seleucia in Isauria, he succeeded, by the exercise of his imperial authority, in carrying through the acceptance of the formula, devised by the more temperate Arians, of *homoiousios* ('of like substance') for the relation between God and Christ, in place of *homoousios*. But it was then that the attempt of his court to weaken Julian, who was viewed with increasing jealousy, by demanding some of his best divisions for the Persian war, led to a new dynastic war, which, however, closed without bloodshed.

The stupid attempt to draw a part of the Gallic army to the Orient aroused, in the winter of A.D. 360, at Lutetia (Paris), where Julian had taken up his residence, an insurrection of the troops, who hailed their Caesar as Augustus. All the efforts of Julian, who shrank from civil war, to make a compromise with his cousin on the basis of existing possessions, failed through the anger of Constantius. When Julian (Fig. 116) saw that his cousin was trying to make a truce with the Persians that he might turn all his forces upon Gaul, he himself began

the war in May, A.D. 361. With rapidity and energy he led his army in three columns to Illyricum, in the late summer gained Sirmium without drawing the sword, and then the important passes of the Balkans between Sardica and Philippopolis. But the struggle with Constantius never came; for on the march from Mesopotamia to Thrace that emperor died of fever at Mopsucrene, on November 3, A.D. 361, and on December 11 Julian was able to enter Constantinople without opposition as sole emperor.

Julian as emperor displayed his administrative abilities and his noble and amiable qualities. But he ruined all by his fatal and hopeless attempt to revive decaying heathenism, and to cast down victorious Christianity. It soon appeared that he really knew neither the Christians nor the heathens, and that he was wasting his powers in the

support of a great error. Soon after his arrival at the Golden Horn, he declared openly for the old religion. The Christians were thrown into great confusion when he promised complete freedom for all forms of faith. But he was soon to learn that all Christian parties united in stubborn opposition and burning hatred against the 'Apostate,' as soon as he seriously proceeded against the church. Of new persecutions and martyrs the emperor indeed had no thought; but he hoped to inflict damage upon the church, by withdrawing the privileges which Constantine had conferred upon the clergy, and by demanding the return of the municipal property, the



FIG. 116. — The Emperor Julian. Copper coin, inscribed Dominus Noster FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS IVLIANVS Pius Felix AVGVSTVS. (From Imhoof-Blumer.)

temples, and the temple property that had come into the possession of the church since Constantine's time. By forbidding the Christians to teach as rhetoricians and grammarians, he sought to take from them the higher education of the young. The Christian world prepared for an energetic resistance, while the indolent and careless heathen took little interest in Julian's efforts to reorganize paganism after the Christian model, to force the priests to moral lives, to the care for souls, to preaching, and charity.

The wild tumult which arose on all sides at these attempts, which in some places led to the horrible maltreatment of the Christians by furious mobs, made such an effect upon Julian, that he gladly turned away to a war against the Persians, with whom he hoped to make a final settlement. Leaving Antioch, in March, A.D. 363, he showed

himself a general such as Rome had not had since Constantine the Great. With 65,000 men and a large fleet, he pushed south along the Euphrates; then, taking his fleet through an old canal of Trajan to the Tigris, he forced the passage of the river, and on May 27 gained a great victory over the Persians at Ctesiphon. He now repelled the overtures of Sapor II., and, having burned his fleet, directed his march toward the interior of Persia. But the burning heat of June, and the scarcity of supplies, made his advance impossible; and the emperor was forced to the difficult retreat to the northwest, towards Armenia, a retreat conducted with distinguished ability.

It was a grave disaster when Julian, on June 26, A.D. 363, was mortally wounded in a cavalry skirmish. His successor, a captain of the guard, Flavius Claudius Jovianus (born A.D. 311), hastily chosen by the officers, was by no means equal to his position, and foolish enough to make two weeks later, apparently without being in straits, a shameful peace, by which the conquests of Diocletian (p. 218) and sixteen Mesopotamian fortresses, including Nisibis, were surrendered, and Armenia given up. Jovian died in Galatia, on the march to Constantinople, February 17, A.D. 364. The council of officers and the highest state officials in Nice named a much abler man as emperor, the captain of the guard, Valentinian, who was born at Cibalis about A.D. 331, the son of the Pannonian general Gratianus. On February 26 he entered upon his government, and on March 28 raised his brother Valens to be co-regent. In July, A.D. 364, he assigned to Valens at Sirmium the Oriental prefecture with Thrace and Egypt, and took up his own residence at Milan.

Valentinian I. was in every respect a man of great ability. Personally an Athanasian in belief, he was perspicacious enough to insist on freedom of conscience. The old religion, excepting magic and witchcraft, was as fully protected as the various Christian confessions. In dogmatic quarrels he took no part; but he did not allow the sects to annoy and persecute each other, and allowed no encroachments on the part of the church, which was, however, well treated. Valens, however, who in other respects faithfully followed the policy of his far abler brother, made the mistake of allowing the Arians, of whom he was one, to persecute the Athanasians.

Much darker is the record of Valentinian's administrative activity. A Christian of deep convictions, a sternly moral man, who strove with the greatest zeal for the welfare of his people, and in his surroundings allowed neither nepotism nor encroachment, an excellent general and

brave soldier, he was given on slight provocation to shed blood, and the corruption of his contemporaries made him an extremely harsh judge. His principle was merciless severity; the sternest judges and governors were the most dear to him, and cruel executions were daily occurrences under his rule. Though he wished to be absolutely just, when once he had selected his officials he trusted them unconditionally, and as he was repeatedly deceived in his choice, their villany led him into terrible mistakes. But he could stand opposition, and in all questions of state showed himself indefatigably persistent in the face of all difficulties. His brother Valens resembled him strikingly, both in his good qualities and in his defects.

Outwardly Valens was much better off than his brother. After the quelling of an insurrection in A.D. 366 in Constantinople, Thrace, and



FIG. 117. — Gold medal of the Emperor Gratian. Obverse inscribed: Dominus Noster GRATIANVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS. Reverse: Roma, enthroned; legend, GLORIA ROMANORVM; TREVERI (Treves) — the minting-place. OB, Greek letters, indicate 72, the standard according to which all gold coins were minted (72 solidi in a pound of gold). The letter E, or 5, indicates the fifth mint, or the fifth issue. From Berlin. (After Friedlander.)

Asia Minor, and after the driving back of the Thervings, or West-Goths (Visigoths), who dwelt between the Dniester and the Danube, the East had several years of peace. But the death of Julian and the wretched peace with Persia had filled the Alamanni with new courage. In A.D. 365 they overran Eastern Gaul, and till almost the end of his reign Valentinian was obliged to make the greatest efforts to defend the upper Rhine. Prominent among the men about him was the Spaniard, Flavius Theodosius from Cauca, who during the years A.D. 368 to 370 saved for the emperor Britain, where since Julian's death the incursions of the Picts, Scots, and Saxon pirates, and the incapacity of Roman officers and officials, had been disastrous; and later (A.D. 373–375) in Africa suppressed the Donatists, put down the rising of the Mauretanian chieftain, Firmus, and restored peace and security.

The harrying of Pannonia in A.D. 374 by the Quadi and the Jazyges, caused by the folly of Roman officers, was avenged in the following year by Valentinian in person. But during the negotiations for peace at Bregetio he suddenly died (November 17, A.D. 375). The troops then demanded and obtained that along with Gratian (Fig. 117), the emperor's son by his first marriage (born A.D. 359), his younger son Valentinian II., born in November A.D. 371 of his second wife, Justina, should also be emperor, and should have the Illyrian and Italian prefectures.

Gratian, a beautiful, noble, and amiable young man, who is eulogized by the learned poet Ausonius of Burdigala (between A.D. 310 and the end of fourth century), yet wrought irremediable injury to the future of the empire. Ambrose, the orthodox bishop of Milan (A.D. 374-397), one of the most gifted of the leaders of the church, prevailed upon Gratian, in A.D. 376, to put an end to religious freedom. Then were published the edicts claiming 'catholic' holiness for the Homoeousians alone, and introducing into the West the systematic persecution of non-catholic tendencies within the church. This war of creeds within the state was never again interrupted, even amid the fearful catastrophes of later times.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MIGRATION OF THE HUNS AND THE GOTHs. THE DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(A.D. 375-395.)

IN the summer of A.D. 376 the Emperor Valens, who since A.D. 372 had been at Antioch watching the Persians, with whom his relations were again disturbed, received from the Lower Danube reports of the utmost importance. Since A.D. 371 there had been in progress north of the Black Sea a migration of nations, which, above all others, was momentous for the Roman state. It was caused by the westward advance from the steppes of Central Asia, and from the country about the Aral and the Caspian, of a part of the Mongolian or Altaic peoples, — the Huns, — a genuine nomadic people long dreaded by the Germans, Romans, and Greeks alike as barbarians of the most savage kind. Almost inseparable from their horses, with their arrows, their lassos, and their swords, they were equally terrible in distant and in hand-to-hand fighting. Beardless, their brown faces scarred with self-inflicted wounds, with strong, compact bodies, shrinking from no hardship, they were savage, faithless, and brutishly sensual.

This Mongol horde of shepherds and huntsmen, under their khan, Balamber (Balamir), first scattered the nomadic Alani, who dwelt between the Don, the Volga, and the Caucasus; then, about 373, they overthrew the great realm of Hermanric, king of the East-Goths, or Greutungs (Ostrogoths), and reduced the people to subjection. The Visigoths, against whom the Huns advanced in A.D. 375, were the less able to resist, because of their division into two hostile groups through a persecution of the Christians, begun in A.D. 370 by their duke, Athanaric, who twenty years before had driven out of his country the renowned bishop, Ulfilas (A.D. 311-381). Athanaric could not maintain himself on the Dniester, and retired to the north of Transylvania. The other half of the people, 200,000 warriors, under their chief, Fritigern, retired to the Danube, opposite Silistria, and begged the permission of Valens to cross into the Roman territory. The carrying

The fearful distress of the state now led Gratian to appoint an emperor for the East. The choice fell upon the highly gifted Theodosius (Fig. 118), one of the best officers of the state, born about A.D. 346. He was appointed at Sirmium, January 19, A.D. 379, and re-



FIG. 119. — Reliefs on the Pedestal of the Obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople. The obelisk that stands on this pedestal was brought from Egypt by way of Athens in the year A.D. 390, by Proclus, prefect of the Orient, and set up in the spina of the Hippodrome. It is a monolith of reddish gray syenite, about 98 feet high. The hieroglyphic inscription shows that it came from Heliopolis, where it was first erected by Thothmes III. in the sixteenth century B.C. The reliefs on the marble pedestal contain, in part, scenes from life at the court of Theodosius, the emperor and his family being the central figures; in part, scenes from the games of the circus, as also one representing the erection of the obelisk. (From a photograph.)

ceived, in addition to the East, Macedonia and Greece. By his military genius and power of organization, and by his skill in diplomacy, Theodosius, from Thessalonica, succeeded in once more warding off the danger from the Goths. By October, A.D. 382, he had everywhere

restored peace. The Goths, who had been treated by him with much consideration, received new settlements on the Moesian and Dacian borders of the Danube, and in return were to supply troops for the imperial army.

But, unfortunately, Theodosius at once attacked the Arians and heathen in the empire. A bigoted Spaniard, he declared, February 28, A.D. 380, that for the Eastern Empire the Nicene Creed was



FIG. 120. — Scenes from the pedestal of the obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople.
(From a photograph.)

the only 'catholic' creed, and began at once a war of extermination against the Arians, who formed a majority of the Christian population of the East. Only the Arian Goths were unmolested. Still more ruthlessly did he proceed against the old religions. Henceforth deeds of violence against the heathen and their sacred objects were the order of the day. In the autumn of A.D. 394 the Olympian games, which were last celebrated in A.D. 393, were suppressed. In the same spirit

the Emperor Gratian, as a Christian, had laid aside the dignity of pontifex maximus at the beginning of A.D. 383.

Theodosius was destined to a wider power. The effeminate habits of Gratian and his excessive favoritism for German soldiers made it possible, in the summer of A.D. 383, for the Spaniard, Magnus Clemens Maximus, to rise as an usurper in Britain, and having overthrown Gratian, who was killed at Lyons, August 25, to secure at first the prefecture of Gaul. Then, after having judicially murdered the lead-



FIG. 121. — Silver shield of Theodosius, in Madrid. Low relief, representing the enthroned Theodosius between his sons, Honorius and Arcadius. Below, the figure of Abundantia reclining. Diameter of original about 2.6 feet. (From a cast.)

ers of an ascetic sect, the followers of the Spaniard Priscillian, at Treves, in A.D. 385, — he was the first Christian emperor to shed the blood of 'heretic' Christians, — he suddenly, in A.D. 387, seized Italy. Thereupon Theodosius came to the assistance of the young emperor, Valentinian II., whose sister, Galla, he had married. In A.D. 388 the armies of Maximus yielded at Siscia to the superior skill of Theodosius; and late in the summer, after Maximus's overthrow, Valentinian was put back upon the throne of the West.

A conflict between the young emperor and the Frankish general,

Arbogast, who was given him as counsellor by Theodosius, culminated in the murder of the young emperor at Vienna, May 15, A.D. 392, when Arbogast set up the chief court notary, Eugenius, as emperor. Again Theodosius appeared as avenger; and, in a battle on the Frigidus (Wippach), September 6, A.D. 394, gained a complete victory. He had now become the sole ruler of the entire empire; but he died at Milan, on January 17 of the following year. It was his purpose that his young sons, Arcadius and Honorius (Fig. 121), should divide the government, as Valens and Valentinian had done, — Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West. But, contrary to expectation, the two divisions from the beginning were hostile, and the separation became permanent.

The narrative of the history of the East Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, which followed henceforth its own channels, and that of the breaking-up of the West into Romano-Germanic states, will be given by other hands in the later volumes of this series.

CHAPTER XIV.

LATIN LITERATURE FROM PAULUS TO CLAUDIAN.¹

BY GEORGE W. ROBINSON.

THE century of political tumult and disaster which succeeded the accession of Caracalla in A.D. 211 was accompanied by a startling barrenness in almost every field of intellectual and literary activity. The restoration of order and security under Constantine the Great was followed by an equally remarkable refflorescence of literature, which found its culmination and its close, during the decade after the final division of the Roman empire, in Prudentius, the greatest Christian Latin poet, and in Claudian, the last great classical and pagan author.

The classic age of Roman jurisprudence, begun by Gaius and Papinian, was continued under Caracalla and Alexander Severus by Paulus and Ulpian, and concluded, toward the middle of the third century, by Modestinus. Julius Paulus, originally an advocate, then assessor to Papinian when the latter was praetorian prefect, was exiled by Elagabalus, to be recalled by Alexander Severus and himself appointed praetorian prefect. He was a writer of extraordinary fertility. We have the titles of over eighty of his works, many of them of high importance, as the eighty books on the praetorian ordinances (*Ad Edictum*), the twenty-six books on trials (*Quaestiones*), and the twenty-three books of legal opinions (*Responsa*). The *Sententiarum ad filium libri quinque* (i. e., "Legal Decisions, for my Son's Use, in Five Books") was a popular legal handbook intended for the use of laymen, which was highly esteemed and had great influence, especially upon the laws of the barbarian conquerors

¹ Professor Hertzberg in his review, in this volume, of the intellectual life of the Roman world in the closing centuries of the empire has brought his account down only to the opening of the third century of our era. Professor von Pflugk-Harttung, on the other hand, who in the next volume has occasion to sketch the intellectual activity of the Old World in the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages, does not begin this account with any detail until about the fifth century. A gap is thus left of nearly two centuries — from about 300 to 400 A.D., — which this chapter undertakes to fill. This chapter, which gives a brief account of the chief jurists, poets, and prose writers who lived in this period — both pagan and Christian — was prepared, at my request, by Mr. George W. Robinson, of Cambridge, Massachusetts.—Ed.

of Rome. An abridgment is preserved in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. Of the other works of Paulus there remain only fragments and the 2083 extracts which form one-sixth of the Digest of Justinian.

Domitius Ulpianus of Tyre was, like Paulus, an assessor of Papinian, and praetorian prefect under Alexander Severus; his life was brought to an end through his shameful assassination by the praetorian guard in A.D. 228. Though perhaps inferior in penetration and independence to Papinian and Paulus, he possessed a gift of clear and popular exposition, which gave to his writings great authority and importance. The 2462 extracts from Ulpian form one-third of the Digest. Besides these extracts, there remain of his numerous works, the most important of which were the eighty-three books *Ad Edictum* and the fifty-one books *Ad Sabinum* ("To Sabinus"), only fragments, and a mutilated abridgment of the *Regularum liber singularis* ("Book of Rules").

Herennius Modestinus, a pupil of Ulpian, wrote much esteemed works on jurisprudence, from which the Digest preserves 345 extracts. A decree of Theodosius and Valentinian ordered that judges should consider authoritative all writings of Gaius, Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, and Modestinus, and any earlier jurists quoted by any one of the five.

Aside from jurisprudence, hardly a secular Latin work of importance dates from the third century. Even for the history of the times we are obliged to rely upon later compilations, and upon the Roman histories written in Greek by the Bithynian Dio Cassius (A.D. 155 till after 229), whose work in eighty books, only partially preserved, extends from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to his own consulship in A.D. 229, and by Herodian, an imperial official, who covers the period A.D. 180–238. Of the imperial biographies by Marius Maximus of Rome (about A.D. 165–230) and his contemporary Aelius Junius Cordus, only extracts are preserved in the *Historia Augusta*. Censorinus, the most famous grammarian of his day, in his treatise *De natali die* (A.D. 238) takes the forty-ninth birthday of his patron, Q. Caerellius, as the central theme around which to arrange an exposition of his art. Science is represented by the versified treatise on medicine, in 1115 hexameters, of Q. Serenus Sammonicus the younger, which celebrates in correct metre the mystic virtues of Abracadabra and other formulas. The only noteworthy poem is the *Pervigilium Veneris* ("Vigil of Venus"), of the rarest beauty and loveliness. Its author is unknown, and as to its date and place of origin there is only internal evidence; but it should most probably be assigned to Africa, or perhaps to Sicily, and to about the year A.D. 275. It consists of ninety-three trochaic tetrameters, divided into stanzas of unequal length

by the refrain, *Cras amet qui nunquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet*:

"Love he to-morrow, who loved never;
To-morrow, who hath loved, persevere."

The subject is the nocturnal festival of Venus in the spring, which celebrated the opening of the season of vegetation, and some features of which long survived in the later May-day.¹ After a gap of a hundred years from the death of Apuleius, Africa about this time again produces several authors of moderate abilities. Terentianus Maurus wrote (about A.D. 290) a treatise in verse on prosody and metre (*De Litteris, Syllabis, Metris*) which was highly esteemed in the Middle Ages. Juba, a contemporary, also wrote on metre. He attempted to find metrical prototypes in nature. Q. Gargilius Martialis (about A.D. 240), like Terentianus a Mauretanian, wrote on the art of husbandry. Only portions of his work, relating to veterinary medicine and horticulture, survive. M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus of Carthage (flourished A.D. 282-285) wrote eclogues, and a long poem on the chase (*Cynegetica*), of which the first 425 lines remain.

In Africa, also, arose the most vital and positive literature of the period, that of the early Latin fathers. Of the four great Christian Latin writers between Tertullian and the age of Constantine, — Commodianus, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, — the last named three, at least, and possibly all, were, like Tertullian, natives of Africa.

Commodianus is the author of two poems, the *Instructiones per Litteras Versuum primas* ("Precepts by Acrostics," about A.D. 240), and the *Carmen Apologeticum adversus Judaeos et Gentes* ("Poem in Defence of Christianity against the Jews and Gentiles," A.D. 249). The common interpretation of one of the acrostics assigns its author to Gaza in Palestine; but some writers are inclined to consider him an African on the grounds of style and language. Commodianus was in youth a pagan. After his conversion he applied himself zealously to the study of Christian literature, and seems to have risen to a station of dignity in the church. His poems are framed in a kind of hexameter based partly upon quantity, partly upon accent, with a tendency to alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. So remarkable is the metrical structure that Gennadius speaks of it as "an intermediate form of expression, *akin to verse*." Hardly less noticeable is the language, which exhibits a striking proportion of popular forms and constructions. In these first productions of Christian Latin poetry we thus see the forerunners of the modern Romance literatures. The poems

¹ Stubbes, "Anatomie of Abuses" (1583), p. 144.

themselves are of unequal merit. The eighty acrostic *Instructiones* first attack the worship of the heathen gods, then, after a reference to the approaching coming of Antichrist, go on to give practical advice as to conduct to various classes of Christians. The form renders them cramped and artificial, and sometimes obscure. The *Carmen Apologeticum* shows far more vigor. Its denunciation of pagans and Jews is followed by a description of the end of the world, soon to come, most interesting as the first presentation in Christian Latin literature of the legend of Antichrist. In this we find already interwoven the old Jewish conception of the Anti-Messiah and the Roman popular myth of Nero, who, not dead, but fled to the Parthians, was to return in the last days and again oppress the earth.

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus was born in Africa (probably in Carthage), at the beginning of the third century, of a wealthy and respected pagan family. Cyprian was a successful teacher of rhetoric, but upon his conversion (about A.D. 245) he gave most of his riches to the poor, and devoted himself so zealously to the study of the Bible that in two years he was ordained as priest, and in A.D. 248 was elected bishop of Carthage. His term of office was troubled by the Decian persecution, by the great plague of A.D. 253, and by the Valerian persecution, in which he gave up life for his faith (A.D. 258). Not a great original thinker and writer like Tertullian, to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness, he was a typical pastor of the best sort, chiefly concerned to encourage his flock in sound thinking and practical righteousness. Accordingly his works in great part relate to questions of practical church discipline. Of this sort are the tracts "On Work and Alms," and "On the Garb of Maidens," many letters, and the especially important *De Lapsis*, in which he discusses the attitude which should be taken toward backsliders (*lapsi*) who sought readmission to the church. Cyprian advocated an increased stringency of discipline on this point, and in consequence became involved in a controversy with Pope Stephen.

In the *De Gratia Dei* ("On the Grace of God"), an early work, Cyprian justifies his conversion, and vividly exposes the vices of the heathen world. More philosophical and perhaps of more general interest are the *De Mortalitate* ("On Mortality"), written to strengthen the courage of his congregation in the great pestilence of 253, and the epistle to Demetrianus, the most eloquent of his writings, a reply called forth by the accusation of the pagans that the plague and the other manifest misfortunes of the time were caused by the spread of Christianity. He acknowledges the degeneracy and miseries of the time, but rejoins that they are

occasioned not by the new religion, but by the near coming of the appointed end of the world, proclaimed even by the physical deterioration of the human race, and urges the pagans to avail themselves of the opportunity to secure salvation before it is too late. Far different is the reply which Arnobius of Sicca in Numidia, like Cyprian a convert and a former teacher of rhetoric, makes to the same charge in his treatise "Against the Gentiles" (*Adversus Nationes libri septem*), written about A.D. 295. He points out the fact that the same laws of nature have prevailed before and since the introduction of Christianity, occasioning in their season droughts, tempests, and other calamities; then he goes on to argue that the world has really greatly improved since the introduction of Christianity, inasmuch as the Roman empire has extended its bounds and the severities of war have been much mitigated. The last five books of the *Adversus Nationes* contain a general and very able attack upon the whole system of heathenism, and especially its immoral mythology.

Arnobius's work is wholly apologetic or critical. That of his pupil, Lactantius Firmianus, the 'Christian Cicero,' is constructive as well. Appointed by Diocletian professor of Latin rhetoric in his new capital, Nicomedia, he found few pupils in that Grecian city, and was left with abundant leisure for the study of philosophy. This study convinced him of the truth of Christianity, and on the outbreak of the Diocletian persecution in A.D. 303 he resigned his professorship. In his old age he is said to have become the teacher, in Gaul, of the ill-fated Crispus, the son of Constantine. The date of his death is unknown. The great work of Lactantius is the "Introduction to Divine Knowledge" (*Divinarum Institutionum libri septem*), the first philosophical exposition in the West of Christian theology, which appeared between A.D. 321 and 323, and is remarkable alike for the purity and excellence of its style, its magnificent breadth and nobility of view, and the extraordinary influence which it has exercised upon theology and thought, and upon the great Christian teachers, with whom it has always been a favorite book. The first three books, "On False Religion," "On the Origin of Error," and "On False Wisdom," are critical and negative; the remaining four, "On True Wisdom," "On Justice," "On True Worship," and "On the Happy Life," are positive and constructive, and unfold a complete Christian philosophy of life. Other works of Lactantius are the "Work of God;" the "Wrath of God;" also the "Deaths of Persecutors" (A.D. 313-314), and a singular allegorical poem, the "Phoenix," both of which, however, are of doubtful authenticity.

The force and dignity of Arnobius and Lactantius, derived from the

possession of a firm conviction and a weighty subject, contrast most strikingly with the puerility of the contemporary secular literature. The six authors of the "Imperial History" (*Historia Augusta*) wrote, partly from official sources, a clumsy and servile history of the emperors from Hadrian to Numerian (A.D. 117-284). Four of these writers, — Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Gallicanus, and Trebellius Pollio, — wrote under Diocletian; Aelius Lampridius, and Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse, under Constantine. Though destitute of literary value, this work preserves to us many historical facts that otherwise would be lost. Yet more empty than the historians are the orators of the period. The centralized despotism and Oriental system of government established by Diocletian produced the so-called school of the Panegyrists, which flourished especially in Gaul, whence a collection of eight panegyrics has been preserved. They are bombastic in style, and employ the most fulsome flattery. The most interesting is that of Eumenius, before the president of the first Lugdenensian province, concerning the restoration of the buildings of the university (*pro restaurandis scolis*) at Augustodunum (Autun), greatly dilapidated through the revolt of the Bagaudae. For this purpose he offers to make over his own salary of 600,000 sesterces, paid him as professor of oratory from the public purse, or as much of it as may be necessary. Eumenius shows natural feeling and some real love of learning, though one easily sees that his idea of a university is a place where young men may learn to frame florid panegyrics on high imperial officials, while well-paid professors enjoy a long life of tranquillity and comfort.

The fourth century, indeed, on the eve of which Eumenius spoke, has been appropriately described as the golden age of university professors. The example of the iron administrative system of the empire had occasioned even in the field of education a passion for a similar uniformity, organization, and method. On the one hand, the subject-matter of education was increasingly systematized, until about A.D. 350 it became crystallized into the Trivium ('three courses'), comprising grammar, rhetoric, and logic, and the Quadrivium ('four courses'), which included arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy:

"Lingua, Tropus, Ratio, Numerus, Tonus, Angulus, Astra."

These subjects, — known as *ingenuae artes*, *liberales artes*, or simply *artes* — remained the framework of education through the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the external accompaniments of education, the scholastic apparatus, became more and more extensive. Each important city of the West had its great libraries of Greek and Latin authors; there were some

thirty in Rome alone, of which the largest, that of the Capitol, contained several hundred thousand volumes. The libraries were usually connected with temples or baths. The porticoes of temples were also in some instances used for the purposes of the higher instruction, which in other cases was carried on in buildings specially provided for it. The Roman schools were originally private ventures, and in the elementary grades always remained so. Under Hadrian, however, the state undertook to aid in the support of the higher schools, which from that time began to assume the character of universities. In the fourth century we find, in the Occident, great universities at Rome, Milan, Treves, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Vienne, Lyons, Seville, Malaga, and Carthage. Each professor taught independently, but to become eligible for his position he must have passed a state examination. Highest in dignity was the professor of oratory (*orator*); then the professors of rhetoric (*rhetores*) ranked before the teachers of grammar (*grammatici*), among whom, again, the *grammatici Graeci* were more esteemed than the *grammatici Latini*. There were also assistants (*subdoctores*). Salaries were, in proportion to the relative value of money and the scale of remuneration in other professions, somewhat larger than at the present day. Students came from great distances; professors were often called from one university to another. Each pupil attended the lectures of such professors as he chose. Necessary regulations were promulgated by imperial decree; thus, students who came to Rome could remain only four years, and might be sent to their homes at any time for misconduct.

The typical university professor of his age, and at the same time a poet of great talent and versatility, is D. Magnus Ausonius of Burdigala (Bordeaux), tutor of Gratian and a friend of Valentinian I. Born in Burdigala about A.D. 310, of a respectable Gallic family, he received a good education in the university of his native city. He then taught at Bordeaux for thirty years, first as grammarian, then as professor of rhetoric, acquiring a great reputation. About A.D. 364 he received from Valentinian I. the highly honorable appointment of tutor to the young prince, Gratian. This was followed by other dignities and offices, until, in A.D. 378-379, Ausonius was prefect of the West, and, in A.D. 379, was elected consul. The last years of his life were devoted to literature and friendship at Bordeaux, or on one of his two country estates near that city.

The poetry of Ausonius is of remarkable range and variety. A pure-blooded Gaul, whose father could not speak Latin, he is the first great representative of the Celtic race in literature, and in his writings we may

recognize the passion, melancholy, and love of nature of the Celt, the wit, grace, and urbanity of the polished man of the world, and the learning, not unmixed with pedantry, of the professor of rhetoric and profound classical scholar. The new love of nature for its own sake, something unknown in literature before the younger Pliny, we meet especially in the *Mosella*, a narrative, in 483 hexameters, of a tour (probably in A.D. 370) from Bingen on the Rhine to Tabernae (Bernkastel) on the Moselle, and thence up the river to Treves. The same love of nature and of rural scenes appears in the poem *De Herediolo*, in which Ausonius celebrates his return, after many years spent at court, to his ancestral estate on the Garonne, near Bordeaux. Much of his poetry is occasional in character; the *Mosella* is his most ambitious work, while seemingly he wrote many pieces as experiments, or for the amusement of friends, or to show his mastery of curious metres, or perhaps simply to put odds and ends of information into metrical shape that they might be more easily remembered by his pupils. Thus, he writes an account in verse of the Twelve Caesars, based on Suetonius; a poetical index of the Iliad and Odyssey; a dissertation on the number three; epitaphs (from the Greek) of the heroes who fell in the Trojan war; a discussion of 'Yes' and 'No'; on the planets; on the balance; on the names of the days of the week; on the months; on the number of days in the several months; on the days of the months on which the Nones, Ides, and Calends fall; on athletic sports; on holidays; and on the labors of Hercules, — a list which shows sufficiently well the nature of the topics with which a professor of rhetoric was expected to be conversant. Belonging to the same class, but of higher intrinsic importance, is the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* (after A.D. 385), which describes the twenty most important cities of the empire, beginning with "Rome the golden, home of the gods, first among cities," and ending with an eloquent and affectionate tribute to Burdigala:

"Not Rhine's barbaric shore,
Or Haemus' icy top Ausonius bore;
Burdigala the soil that gave me birth,
Where mild the sky, and rich the watered earth:
Long springs, brief winters, reign; hills wooded rise;
The foaming stream with tides of ocean vies."

Of 112 epigrams which have been preserved, mostly translations or imitations, the best are the half-dozen on Silvius Bonus, an unfriendly British critic. They derive their point from the supposed manifest incongruity between *Bonus* ('good') and *Brito* ('Briton').

In the "Diary" (*Ephemeris*) Ausonius describes a day's doings. He

rises ; his slave opens the chapel ; he enters, and prays (in eighty-five hexameters). "Enough of prayer," he says, and proceeds to devote the remainder of the day to worldly affairs, including a little dinner with six guests. The *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium* (after A.D. 385) celebrates, with much real feeling, the virtues of thirty-two deceased professors of the University of Burdigala, former teachers or colleagues of Ausonius. In the *Parentalia*¹ a yet deeper chord is struck ; the poet names, one by one, the many relatives whom he has outlived through length of days, including father, mother, sister, his infant first-born son, and his wife, Attusia Lucana, to whose memory, after her death at twenty-eight, he remained constant :

"Bereaved of thee in youth I wept forlorn ;
Thee still, through nine Olympiads, widowed mourn.
Nor yet in age my grief has softened been ;
The pang, still felt ; the sorrow still is green.
Others in time affliction's balm have found,
Long life to me more keenly bars the wound."

Some verses on Bissula, a captive Swabian maid who was assigned to Ausonius as part of the spoils of war, and whom he provided with an excellent education, are charming, though mutilated. "Cupid is Crucified" is a graceful idyll. The *Cento Nuptialis* is a mosaic from Virgil. In prose there remains the address of thanks which Ausonius delivered to Gratian for the conferral of the consulate in A.D. 379. Mention should also be made of the letters, mainly in verse, which he wrote to many correspondents : among others, to the orator Symmachus ; to Axius Paulus the rhetorician ; to Ursulus the grammarian ; to Aulus Theo, who had sent him thirty oysters ; to his grandson, Ausonius ; and to his former pupil, Paulinus of Nola. The letter to his grandson (*Liber protrepticon ad nepotem*) is of much interest as outlining the course of study which the boy should follow. He is to read Homer, Menander, Horace, Virgil, Terence, and Sallust, with due attention to elocution and scansion ; he must not be afraid, though the master shake his ferule, and have a good supply of willow twigs ; father and grandfather both have passed safely through the ordeal, and risen to high positions.

The educational literature of the century is especially rich in works on grammar. Aelius Donatus, who taught at Rome about A.D. 350, established a tradition of the way to teach Latin grammar which has persisted even to modern times. In the Middle Ages all grammars were called *Donati*. His work remains in two versions, an *Ars minor* and an *Ars*

¹ The name of the annual Roman festival in honor of the shades of dead relatives.

major.¹ Besides these, he wrote a commentary on Terence, and also one on Virgil, which has survived only in fragments. Charisius and Diomedes also wrote on grammar, the former in five books, the latter in three. The *Ars Grammatica* of the African C. Marius Victorinus, composed at Rome about A.D. 350, is devoted chiefly to prosody. Victorinus also wrote rhetorical and philosophical works, which are lost. From about the period A.D. 380–400 there remain treatises on rhetoric by Messius Arusianus, Julius Rufinianus, Sulpicius Victor (*Institutiones Oratoriae*), C. Julius Victor, and C. Chirius Fortunatianus (*Artis Rhetoricae libri tres*). The last-named is in catechetical form. Not far from A.D. 380 Servius and T. Claudius Donatus wrote commentaries on Virgil; that of the former, which we possess in two versions, is extremely valuable. The great lexical work of Nonius Marcellus of Thubursicum in Africa, *Compendiosa Doctrina ad Filium* ("Abridged Science for my Son"), written after A.D. 300, treats of the character and relations of words (books i.–xii.) and then (books xiii.–xx.) of the things words define: boats, clothing, vases and beakers, footgear, colors of clothing, foods and drinks, arms, and relationships. Numerous illustrative quotations from lost authors give it a high value.

Science is represented at this time mainly by compilations. The so-called *Medicina Plinii*, based on the books of Pliny's Natural History which relate to the subject of medicine, was compiled, between A.D. 300 and 350, by an anonymous writer, who professes that he is actuated by the desire to protect the public from the swindling of professional physicians. Palladius, an Italian landowner, wrote about A.D. 355 a work on agriculture (*De Re Rustica*), in fourteen books. From Flavius Vegetius Renatus we have an *Epitome Rei Militaris* in four books (about A.D. 390), a compilation from earlier writers on the art of war; from it one learns that ship-timber should be cut only on the third quarter of the moon, lest worms destroy it. Possibly identical with the preceding is P. Vegetius, author of an excellent popular work on veterinary medicine (*Mulomedicina*). In the field of geography we have several guide-books (*Itineraria*), and two lists of the regions of the city of Rome.

The province of history was cultivated with far greater zeal and success than in the preceding century. The historical handbook for the city of Rome (A.D. 354) is an extremely important source of information, giving, among other things, lists of the Roman consuls, of saints' days, and of the

¹The later Romans often termed a grammar simply an *Ars* ('art'), since grammar was reckoned the most fundamental among the seven arts of the trivium and quadrivium. Thus *Ars minor* is "Smaller Grammar" and *Ars major* is "Larger Grammar."

bishops of Rome. Excellent, though brief, are the histories of the emperors by Sextus Aurelius Victor (*Cæsares*, A.D. 360, and *Epitome*, about A.D. 395), and the concise general history of Rome in ten books (*Breviarium ab Urbe Condita*) by Eutropius, which long enjoyed an extraordinary popularity. The short Roman history of Rufius Festus appeared in A.D. 369. By far the most important historical writer of the century, and of all Latin literature after Tacitus, is Ammianus Marcellinus (about A.D. 330–400), a Greek of Antioch, who, after an honorable military service, wrote at Rome, about 390 A.D., a history of the period A.D. 96–378. The work was originally in thirty-one books, of which the last eighteen remain, forming a contemporary history of the years A.D. 353–378. Ammianus is hardly at home in Latin composition; his style is cumbrous and ungraceful, and is only disfigured by the adornments of rhetoric with which he strives to embellish it. He possesses, however, the honesty and frankness of a soldierly character; he has travelled much, seen much, and himself been a participant in many important events, and he relates what he knows with impartiality and fairness, and with a sweep, grasp, strength of characterization, and vigor that make his history as a whole a magnificent work of art, imperfect though it is in the details of literary style.

The distinctively Christian literature of the fourth century, which is very considerable in quantity, derives an extraordinary importance not only from the intrinsic talent of its authors, but also from the religious and political conditions of the time. The victory of Constantine over Licinius in A.D. 323 marked the decisive triumph of Christianity over heathenism, though the pagan worship remained lawful until A.D. 391 and was not finally extinguished until long after that date. The Christian religion, now emerged from the obscurity of its first centuries and become the favorite and ally of the state, was compelled to adapt its discipline to new conditions, and to decide on what terms it would stand with the art and learning of the Gentiles. The struggle, begun even in the earliest days of the church, between the Liberals, or lovers of the classical learning, and its opponents, the so-called Obscurantists, continued unabated, as it continued long after; but the very necessity of the case compelled Christianity, if it would vindicate its claim to be the universal religion, to assimilate the old learning and to gather to itself the culture of the world. It is accordingly the distinction of the fourth century that in it Christianity entered upon the intellectual treasures of antiquity as an inheritance, molding them, indeed, often into new forms and for new uses, but yet making ready to secure, as no other agency could have done, their transmission through the dark night of the barbarian invasions to the brightness

of a new day. At the same time the discipline of the church was adjusted to the new conditions, and assumed the comparative stability which it long retained.

Paulinus of Burdigala (A.D. 353–431), commonly known from the bishopric which he held in later life as Paulinus of Nola, is an interesting example of the passage from the old culture to the new. Carefully educated in secular learning as a pupil of Ausonius, and the possessor of great wealth, he had already gained some reputation as a writer, when, about A.D. 390, wearied of the vanities of the world, he determined to devote himself to asceticism. He gave his wealth to the poor, and his pen to the service of religion, and especially to the advocacy of the ascetic life. This act made a deep impression upon the highest circles in Roman society, and the example of Paulinus was followed by several persons of his own rank.

Bishop Hilary of Poitiers (about A.D. 315 to 367) was in youth a pagan. His desire for an authoritative rule of life made him a Christian, and his great work was the establishment of authority and orthodoxy in the Western church. His activity as an Athanasian against the Arians brought him into conflict with the heretical Constantius II., who exiled him to Asia Minor, and whom he denounced unsparingly after his death in the treatise “Against the Emperor Constantius.” From his Asiatic exile he brought back to Gaul the Greek figurative Bible exegesis, and the ecclesiastical hymn, which he was the first in the West to compose and to use extensively in service. Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia (died A.D. 371), was even stronger in his opposition to the Arians than Hilary, and was, indeed, so excessive in his orthodoxy that the orthodox almost considered him a heretic. His works,—“On Apostate Kings,” “Sinners against God Must not be Spared,” “One Must have Nothing to Do with Heretics,” etc.,—are comparable with those of Commodianus in the preceding century for their use of popular words and constructions. In contrast with Hilary and Lucifer is Priscillian, bishop of Abila in Spain, the first heretic put to death by the church (in A.D. 385), some of whose sermons have been recently discovered. The Aquitanian Sulpicius Severus wrote, about A.D. 400, a life of St. Martin of Tours, abounding in miracles, and long widely read. Nor should we omit to mention the controversial writer Julius Firmicus Maternus, whose exceedingly violent tract “On the Error of Profane Religions” (about A.D. 347) advocates the most extreme measures against the pagans, even to the plundering of temples. He is not to be confounded with his pagan contemporary of the same name, whose treatise on astrology, in eight books, was completed in A.D. 354.

Ambrose (about A.D. 340 to 397), bishop of Milan, is a greater and more influential successor of Hilary, both in the strengthening of the unity and power of the church and in the introduction of hymns into religious service. He was the son of a high official, a nominal Christian, and, after receiving an excellent training in Greek and Latin literature, himself entered the government service. In A.D. 373 he was governor of Milan and its district, when the Christians of the city, after a furious factional quarrel, suddenly determined to elect him their bishop. His amazing administrative ability and force of character soon made the church of Milan a model which was imitated throughout the West. His writings exerted an equally important influence. *De Abraham*, a treatise on the Christian education, takes as its central conception devotion to God, of which Abraham is the great type. *De Officiis Ministrorum* ("On the Duties of the Clergy") urges poverty, celibacy, and freedom from earthly passions. From it dates the Christian conception of the seven virtues—the four natural, Wisdom, Courage, Temperance, and Justice, and the three spiritual, Faith, Hope, and Charity. The numerous letters of Ambrose afford a vivid picture of the society of the age. The *Exameron* is an essay on the six days of the creation, adopting the allegorical method of Biblical interpretation which has persisted even to modern times. Other works are "On Paradise," "On Cain and Abel," "On Noah," "On Isaac" (Ambrose supposes Isaac to represent the soul), "On the Flight of Time," and others, besides the famous and still often sung hymns, *Deus Creator omnium*, *Aeterne rerum conditor*, *Veni redemptor gentium*, and *Jam surgit hora tertia*. The Ambrosian hymn, which is modal, not harmonic, is yet used as a distinct form of church music.

The literary activity of Augustine (A.D. 354–430), the great bishop of Hippo, falls principally in the succeeding period. A weaker nature than Ambrose, yet a greater writer, and more imbued with the spirit of the classical learning, is Jerome (Hieronymus) of Stridon in Illyria (A.D. 331?–420), author of the Latin Vulgate version of the Bible, the appearance of which in A.D. 405 marks an epoch in the history of universal literature. After extensive travels, and a sojourn of five years as an anchorite in the desert, he came to Rome in A.D. 382, where he preached asceticism and denounced worldliness with great vigor. In A.D. 385 one of his followers, the maiden Blaesilla, died from excessive penances, and Jerome found it expedient to leave the city. He went to Palestine, where he founded a double convent at Bethlehem in A.D. 386, in conjunction with Blaesilla's mother, Paula, a wealthy Roman lady. Here he remained until his death: supervising the monks, whom he compelled to read and copy the classics;

teaching in the convent school; completing his great translation of the Bible,—based indeed in part on earlier versions,—which was to link indissolubly classical culture with the Christian religion for the whole period of the Middle Ages; writing commentaries, letters, lives of the saints, and other works. The *De Viris Illustribus* ("On Illustrious Men") commemorates, after the manner of Suetonius, one hundred and thirty-five Christian writers, beginning with the Apostle Peter and ending with Jerome himself. Jerome also wrote a revised translation and continuation of the chronological tables from the "Chronicle" of Eusebius, making a universal history which was esteemed authoritative and which long exercised a vast influence upon literature and education. For a thousand years the Western church produced no scholar so learned as Jerome, whose many points of resemblance to the writers of the Renaissance have won him the title of the 'first Humanist.'

A new literary form is the Christian epitaph, composed especially by Pope Damasus (A.D. 305–384; pope from 366), whose poems in hexameter or elegiac verse on deceased martyrs, popes, saints, and others, were in some cases actually engraved on monuments, in others written merely as literary memorials of the departed. They possess great interest as showing the beginnings of the worship of the saints and martyrs, and of the faith in the efficacy of their intercession, and have a particular interest to the student of literature from the fact that in them we may see the origin of the ecclesiastical legendary poetry, so important during many centuries following.

Both the epic and the lyric forms of verse were now taken by Christianity and appropriated to its uses. C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus, a Spanish presbyter, published about A.D. 330 a rendering of the narrative of the gospels in four books (*Historia Evangelica*), using the Virgilian style and metre. This is the first known attempt to present the Bible story in classical and heroic form, and from it therefore dates the literary tradition which was to find its loftiest expression in "Paradise Lost." Juvencus was widely read, and had numerous imitators, and thus through the Christian epic the forms and spirit of classical poetry had upon the literature and education of succeeding ages an influence far greater than that which they directly exercised. The hexameter poems "On Sodom" and "On Jonah," written by an unknown author about A.D. 360–365, and "The Seven Maccabees," the work of one Victorinus, dating from about A.D. 400, belong to the same class as the *Historia Evangelica*. Here also should be placed the *Cento Vergilianus* (about A.D. 360) of Proba Faltonia, a learned Roman lady, who pieces together from tags of Virgil an account

of the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and the life of Christ, in some 700 hexameters. Partly in epic and partly in lyric form are the poems of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (A.D. 348 to after 405), the greatest Latin lyricist after Horace, and the greatest Christian poet among the Latin writers. Prudentius was like Juvenecus a Spaniard, born probably in Saragossa, and of a noble family. He received the usual rhetorical education, and was long in the military and civil service of the empire, until, when he felt old age approaching, he determined to devote himself, as he tells us, "to the honor of God, to battle against heresy, to the defence of the Catholic faith, to the overthrow of the idols of the Gentiles, to the praise of martyrs and apostles." His poems were all, or nearly all, written before A.D. 405, in which year he published them in a collective edition. The *Cathemerinon* ("Hymns for Every Day") is perhaps the earliest work of Prudentius. Of the twelve hymns six are strictly daily, to be sung at cock-crowing, at dawn, before meat, after meat, at lamp-lighting, and before sleep; the other six are occasional rather: the hymn of the fasting, after fast, for any time, funeral hymn, Christmas hymn, hymn for Epiphany. The *Apotheosis*, in 1084 hexameters, attacks five different sects of heretics, and also the Jews. The *Hamartigenia* ("The Birth of Sin"), likewise a controversial poem, but of striking poetic power and fire, combats in 966 hexameters the Marcionite heretics, who believed in two coequal gods, one the author of good, the other of evil. The poet closes with a modest prayer for his own soul: "Let crowns and immeasurable light glorify others; only be my punishment light, and the flames burn mildly." The *Psychomachia* is an allegory describing in heroic verse the battle of the virtues and vices. The two books "Against Symmachus" oppose the petition of that eminent pagan that the altar of Victory should be restored to Rome. The *Dittochaeon* (literally, 'double food') is a collection of forty-nine tetrastichs in hexameters, the subjects of twenty-four being taken from the Old Testament, and of twenty-five from the New. Finally, the *Peristephanon liber* ("On Garlands") contains fourteen hymns on the martyrs of the church, especially those of Spain, written with passionate feeling and great force of expression. The description of the Catacombs of Rome in the eleventh hymn is of especial interest.

The positive force of the Roman world was now gathered under the banner of Christianity, and the altars of the gods were falling into decay. Yet many, even among the cultured classes, clung to the old faith with an increasing earnestness as they saw the tide of change threatening more and more to sweep away the cherished landmarks of ancient life and civilization. A great proportion of the senators and nobles of the city of Rome

remained pagan long after the Christian faith was completely triumphant among the masses of the people,¹ just as the same class, in fruitless regret for the dead republic, had long held sullenly aloof from the early empire. Accordingly it happens, that, as the republican Lucan wrote under Nero, so in the latter years of the fourth century we find a distinct and serious revival of pagan literature.

Belonging probably to this period, and from a pagan point of view very important, is the list of prodigies, B.C. 505–12, abridged by Julius Obsequens from an epitome of Livy—a work unscholarly and superstitious, and of manifestly heathen origin. Three members of the noble family of the Nicomachi Flaviani were engaged in historical work at this time, all of which however is now lost; one Nicomachus Flavianus, who fought on the side of the heathen Eugenius against Theodosius I., seems to have written of the philosopher Apollonius of Tyana, venerated by the pagans as a worker of miracles. The Nicomachi Flaviani were members of the literary coterie which centred around the orator Symmachus.

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (about A.D. 345–405) is one of the most interesting characters in the later annals of Rome. Of the highest family, and of great natural ability, he was especially eminent as the firm defender of the ancient faith, which he supported from no selfish motives, but from the conviction that the greatness of Rome was bound up with its maintenance. His works include three panegyric speeches, two on Valentinian I. and one on Gratian,—all incomplete and mutilated; some short speeches delivered in the senate; his *Relationes*, or official reports as urban prefect in A.D. 384 and 385; and, most important of all, nine books of letters, with which the *Relationes* are grouped as a tenth. The most famous of the reports is that in which Symmachus vainly urges Theodosius to restore to the senate chamber the altar of Victory, removed by Gratian. The correspondence of Symmachus includes letters of introduction, congratulations, condolences, accounts of journeys, and obituary notices, and in general reflects and represents the life of the opulent, educated, refined old-school Roman gentleman.

Possibly a little older than Symmachus was the geographical poet Rufius Festus Avienus, of whose works there remain translations from the Greek in epic metre of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus and the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, and, of original work, about 700 iambic trimeters from the *Ora Maritima*, a description of the coasts of the seas south of Europe. Abridgments of Livy and the Aeneid, in iambics, are lost. We know him to have been a pagan, and a native of Volsinii in Etruria, from an inscrip-

¹ Prudentius, Against Symmachus, i. 579–607.

tion by him in honor of the Volsinian goddess Nortia, discovered at Rome. From the pagan rhetorician Latinus Drepanius Pacatus remains a panegyric on Theodosius I., delivered before the senate in A.D. 389. Several authors of this time sought in the study of philosophy to find weapons for the conflict with the Christians, but hardly more than their names survive: Macrobius speaks of Horus, a reformed prize-fighter who posed as a Cynic, while Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, who translated philosophical writings from the Greek, is commemorated by his epitaph in the Capitol as an augur, a priest of Vesta and of the Sun, an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries, and the holder of many public offices. About A.D. 400 Macrobius Theodosius, a member of the pagan literary circle at Rome, wrote a commentary¹ on Cicero's "Dream of Scipio" in two books, and seven books of *Saturnalia*, which present, in the form of a series of conversations between Praetextatus and his friends, an immense amount of valuable information on antiquities of many kinds, drawn from earlier sources.

Distinct in origin from the group of Roman patricians,—Symmachus, the Flaviani, and their associates,—yet allied to them by a common love of ancient faith and letters, is Claudius Claudianus, whom Orosius describes as "a distinguished poet, indeed, but a most vigorous pagan." Perhaps a native of Paphlagonia, Claudian received his education at Alexandria, whence in A.D. 395 he removed to Rome. There he remained at least until A.D. 404, under the especial protection of Stilicho. All his works that can be dated fall in this period. The time of his death is unknown. Though Claudian is not free from the rhetorical taste of his time, yet imaginative power, wealth and correctness of diction, and a perfect command of metrical form render him secure in the place which has long been accorded him beside the great classic poets of Rome. All his important works are in epic verse. Most of them are occasioned by political circumstances of the time: as the "Panegyric on the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius," "Against Rufinus," "On the War with Gildo," "Against Eutropius," "Epithalamium on the Marriage of Honorius," panegyrics on the third, fourth, and sixth consulships of Honorius, "Panegyric on the Consul Manlius Theodorus," "On the Consulship of Stilicho," and "On the Gothic War." These are adorned, so far as the subjects will permit, with all the embellishments of epic art, while accuracy is not neglected, so that they have a considerable value as history. Especial mention should be made of the admirable tribute to Stilicho, forming the preface of the third book on his consulship; the passage in the same book on the glory of Rome, "parent of arms and laws . . . mother, not mistress of mankind"; and the soliloquy on the careless gods at the beginning of the first

book against Rufinus. Claudian also ventured a more ambitious epic, his best-known work, though incomplete, the "Rape of Proserpine," which displays an extraordinary wealth of mythology, and is the best piece of Latin versification after the first century. The fragment on the "Battle of the Gods and Giants" contains 128 hexameters. Among the shorter poems of Claudian are several letters and epigrams; fescennine verses on the marriage of Honorius and Maria; some elegiacs "On the Old Man of Verona, who never left his suburb," which contain a lively touch of nature:

"The old man marks his year
Not by the names of consuls, but computes
Time by his various crops; by apples notes
The autumn; by the blooming flower the spring";

a little skit on one "Jacob, master of horse," and his numerous patron saints; poems on the hedgehog; on the port of Smyrna; on the pious brothers of Catina; on Gallie mules; on the fountain Aponus; on the phoenix; on the Nile; on the magnet; the "Praise of Serena"; and the "Epithalamium of Palladius and Celerina."

Claudian is the last classic Latin poet, and the last flower of the brief pagan renaissance. The sack of Rome by the Goths in A.D. 409 shattered into ruins all that yet survived of the old faith. The names of Claudian and of Prudentius, his contemporary and in a sense his rival, close the history of the literature of the ancient world.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

I.—TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF THE ORIENTAL RACES IN ANTIQUITY.

A SYNCHRONISTIC LIST OF RULERS NAMED IN THE TEXT, AND OF A FEW IMPORTANT EVENTS.

NOTE. — Nearly all dates before 1400 B.C., and many in later times, must be regarded as merely approximate. The sequence of events, however, in the several kingdoms is fairly well established.

Cir. 5650 ¹	First (Thinitic) Dynasty : Menes (Mena), Teta, Atet, Ata (Unephes), Hesepti (Safti), Merbapa, Semenptah, Kebhu.
Cir. 5400	Second (Thinitic) Dynasty : Bezaa (Neterbau), Kakau (Caiechus), Baennuter (Banuterer), Uaznes, Senta, Neferkara (Nephercheres).
Cir. 5100	Third (Memphian) Dynasty : Sekerneferka (Necherophes), Zefa (Tosorthrus), Zazai (Bebi), Nebka, Zersa (Zer), Teta (Zerteta), Sezes, Ranebka (Nebkara, Sephuris ?), Raneferka (Huni).
Cir. 5000	Nippur, in Mesopotamia, a flourishing city.
Cir. 4875	Fourth (Memphian) Dynasty : Snefru, Khufu (Cheops), Ratetf, Khafra (Chephren), Menkaura (Mycerinus), Aseska (Asychis).
Cir. 4600	Fifth (Elephantine) Dynasty : Userkaf, Rasahu (Sahura), Kaka (Raneferarka, Neferarkara, Nephercheres), Raaseska, Ranefer (Rakhanfer), Ra-en-user-an, Hormenkau (Menkauhor), Ratetka (Tetkara, Ramaaka, Assa), Unas.
Cir. 4450	Sixth (Memphian) Dynasty : Teta (Ati), Rauserka, Rameri (Pepi I.), Raneren, Raneferka (Pepi II.), Rameren-mentemsaf, Queen Nitaker (Nitocris).
Cir. 4250	Seventh (Memphian) Dynasty. Eighth (Memphian) Dynasty.
Cir. 4100	Ninth (Heracleopolitan) Dynasty : Achthoes.
Cir. 4000	Urukagina, earliest ruler of Lagash.
Cir. 3800	Sargon I. of Akkad.
Cir. 3750	Naram-Sin, Son of Sargon I.
Cir. 3700	Tenth (Heracleopolitan) Dynasty. Eleventh (Theban) Dynasty.
	From the Seventh–Eleventh Dynasties are named : Raneferka, Ramenka, Raneferka. Raneferka Nebi, Ratetka Maakes, Raneferka Khentu, Horneren, Sneferka, Raenka, Raneferka Terer, Horneferka, Raneferka Pepi Seneb ; Raneferka Annu, Ramenkau, Rane-

¹ There is the widest divergence among the authorities as to the dates to be given to many of the earlier dynasties in Egypt, a difference amounting to 1700 years in extreme cases. The date 1322 B.C., however, is universally accepted as the beginning of the New Empire (Ramesses II.). A Papyrus published since these pages were put into type appears to prove that Usertesen III. of the Twelfth Dynasty reigned in 1783–1780 B.C., and not, as given in the Table, in the fourth millennium B.C. If this dating is correct, the dates of the earlier Egyptian dynasties will need to be revised, and made, in many cases, 1700 years later than as given here in our author's table.—ED.

- ferkau, Horneferkau, Raneferarka, Resebekua. Antef (Antefaa and Queen Mentuhotep, who perhaps begins the Eleventh Dynasty), Antef (Anantef I.), Antef (Anantef II.), Anaa, Antef, Ranebkher Mentuhotep, Raseankhka (Seankhkara).
- Cir. 3500 Lagash (Tello), in Southern Babylonia, flourishes.
- Cir. 3450 Twelfth (Theban) Dynasty : Rasehetepab Amenemhat I., Rakheperka Usertesen I., Ranubkau Amenemhat II., Rakhakheper Usertesen II., Rakhakau Usertesen III., Raenmat Amenemhat III., Ramakheru Amenemhat IV.
- Cir. 3250 Thirteenth (Theban) Dynasty : Sebekhotep, Neferhotep, Sebekhotep, Sebekemsaf, Aubemura.
- 2852 Legendary date of Fu-hi, first king of China.
- Cir. 2800 Fourteenth (Xoitic) Dynasty : Timaeus (Timius).
- Cir. 2400 Likbagas (Urbaba, Urea) of Chaldaea ; his son Dungi.
- Cir. 2325 Fifteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty : Salatis, Bnon, Apachnan, Aphobis, Annas, Asseth.
- Cir. 2283 Kudurnakhunte of Susa.
- Cir. 2250 Hammurabi (Amraphel ?) of Babylon.
- Cir. 2100 Samsuiluna, son of Hammurabi.
- Cir. 2050 Sixteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty : Apepi I., Apepi II., Nubti (begins an era).
- Cir. 1800 Seventeenth (Theban) Dynasty : Rasekenen I., Rasekenen II., Rasekenen III., Ta-aaken, Kames and Queen Aahhotep, Aahmes sa Paar.
- Cir. 1750 Eighteenth (Theban) Dynasty : Ranebpehuti Aahmes (Amasis I.), Razerka Amenophis I., Rakheperka Thothmes I., Rakheperen Thothmes II., Queen Hatasu Ramaka, Ramenkheper Thothmes III. (conquers the Parihu of Punt), Raaakheperu Amenophis II., Ramenkheperu Thothmes IV., Ramaaneb Amenophis III.
- Cir. 1725-1140 Rule of Cassite kings in Mesopotamia.
- Cir. 1700 Invasion of Babylon by Babylonian Cassites.
- Cir. 1650 Khu-en-aten Amenophis IV., Tutankhamen, Ai, Razerkheperu Setpenra Horemheb (Armais).
- Cir. 1490 Nineteenth (Theban) Dynasty : Ramenpehuti Rameses I. Sapalel, king of the Hittites. Ramaamen Merenptah Seti I. Maruser and Mautenure, kings of the Hittites.
- Karaindas of Babylon, Asurbelnisisu of Assyria.
- Cir. 1430 Burnaburias, and Queen Muballidat-Seru, daughter of Asuruballit.
- Cir. 1347 Rausermaa setpenra Rameses II. (1347-1281). July 20, 1322 ; Sothis epoch. Khetasar, king of the Hittites.
- Cir. 1300 Karahardas of Babylon, Nazibugas, Kurigalzu (brother of Karahardas), son of Burnaburias.
- Milisihiu, Merodach-Baladan.
- Cir. 1290 Shalmaneser I.
- Merenptah Seti II.
- Cir. 1280 Twentieth (Theban) Dynasty : Setnekht. Rameses III.
- 1271 Tukultininip of Assyria conquers Nazimurudas of Babylon.
- 1240 Belkudurussur. Rameses IX.
- 1200 Nineveh captured by the Hittites.
- 1150 Nebuchadnezzar I. of Babylon.
- Rameses X.
- Cir. 1122 Mardukiddinachi, his son Simtasilhak ; Ninmah in Northern Babylonia.
- 1120-1100 Tiglath-Pileser I. Kilianteru, son of Kalianteru. Saditeru.
- Cir. 1100 Twenty-first (Tanitic) Dynasty : Herhor, Pinozem I. (Psusennes), Pasebkhanen I. Ramanbaliddin of Babylon. High-priest Masaharti. Hittites prevailing race in Asia Minor.
- Cir. 1030 Ramenkheper. Asurabamer.
- High-priest Pinozem II. Pasebkhanen II. Horpesiunkha (Psusennes II.).
- Saul of Israel. Nahash of Ammon.
- 987 Ishbosheth of Israel.
- 985-955 David, Hadadezer of Damascus, Hadoram of Hamath.
- 975 Twenty-second (Bubastic) Dynasty : Shishak.
- 969-936 Hiram, king of Tyre.

	955-925	Solomon. Osorkon I. Merodach-Baladan of Babylon.
	925	Jeroboam I., king of Israel. Rehoboam, king of Judah.
	913-889	Ramman-Nirari of Assyria. Abijah of Judah.
Cir.	900	Benhadad I. of Damascus. Baasha and Zimri of Israel. Asa of Judah.
	890	Omri of Israel. Tiglath-Ninip of Assyria.
	885-854	Ithobaal of Tyre.
	883-858	Asurnazirpal of Assyria: wars against Sandudu of Sukhi, Akhuni, Sangar of Carchemish, Lubarna of Patin, Guzi of Jahan, Katazil of Kummukh, Nabubaliddin of Sippara.
	875-853	Ahab and Jezebel of Israel; Jehoshaphat of Judah. Benhadad II. (Ramanidri) of Damascus.
	857-823	Shalmaneser II. of Assyria; defeats Ahab of Israel, and other princes at Karkar (854). Shishak III. of Egypt.
	853	Marduksumaidin of Babylonia.
	851	Jehoram of Israel. Mesha of Moab. Johoram and Athaliah of Judah.
	845	Hazael of Damascus. Ahaziah of Judah.
	843	Jehu of Israel.
	842	Shalmaneser's obelisk erected at Nimrud, with tribute lists of Asau of Kirzan, Jehu, Mardukpalizir of Sukhi, Garparunda of Patin.
	837	Joash of Judah. War of Assyria with Nanzu of Namri, Arami of Urartu, Kati of Kul. Lubarna of Surri murdered.
	833	Sarduris (Siduris) of Urartu.
	823-809	Samsi-raman of Assyria, Mardukbalatirib of Babylon, Ispuinis of Urartu.
	820	Jehoahaz of Israel.
Cir.	810	Twenty-third (Tanitic) Dynasty.
	809-780	Raman-nirari and Queen Sammuramat (Semiramis). Mineas of Urartu. Pirisati of Ginunbund.
	800	Jehoash of Israel. Maria of Damascus.
	795	Amaziah of Judah.
	780	Jeroboam II. of Israel. Shalmaneser III. Argistis I. of Urartu.
	775	Uzziah or Azariah of Judah.
	763	June 15. Eclipse of the sun.
	747	February 26. Era of Nabonassar begins.
	746	Zachariah of Israel; Shallum and Menahem of Israel.
	745-720	Tiglath-Pileser II. (in Babylon, Pul). Sarduris II. of Urartu, Mati-hil on the Afrin, Salumal of Milid, Tarkhular of Gamgum.
	740	Hiran II. of Tyre.
	738	Isaiah, the prophet. Pekahiah of Israel. Jotham of Judah. Pekah of Israel.
	735	Ahaz of Judah.
	734	Hannan of Gaza, Resin of Damascus (died 732), Sibittibel of Byblus, Kustaspi of Kummukh, Urikki of Kul, Inil of Hamath, Panammu of Samal, Dadila of Kaska, Wassurmi of Tabal, Ushkhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tukhan, Tukhammi of Istunda, Urinni of Urna, Zabi-bieh, queen of the Arabians, Muthumbal of Arvad, Sannin of Ammon, Shalman of Moab, Mitinti of Ascalon, Kosmalek of Edom, named by Tiglath-Pileser II. as tributary princes.
	733	Nadius in Babylon. Piankhi of Napata in Egypt. Mutton of Tyre.
	732-722	Hoshea of Israel.
	731	Kinzirus and Porus (Pul). Musesninip of Arban?
	726-722	Shalmaneser IV. of Assyria. Elulaeus in Babylon.
	725-675	Luliya (Elulaeus) of Sidon. Ithobaal of Tyre. Padi of Ekron.
	721-705	Sargon II. Gunzinan of Khammanu, Mita of Maska. Mardokempados in Babylon. Sutruknakhunte, son of Halludus in Susiana, Kibaba of Kharkhar, Dalta of Ellip. Nibie and Ispabara, sons of Dalta, Hubid of Hamath, Azuri of Ashdod; Akhimut of Ashdod.
	720-715	Twenty-fourth (Saitic) Dynasty; Bakenrauf, son of Prince Tafnekht.
	717	Pisiris of Carchemish conquered by Sargon II. End of Hittite Empire.
	715	Twenty-fifth (Ethiopian) Dynasty: Sabaco, Queen Ameniritis. Dayaukku of Manna.

- 714 Ursa of Urartu, Iranzu of Manna, Aza of Manna and his brother Ulussun, Urzana of Muzatsir, Bagadatti of Mildish, Mitatti of Zikirtu; Parna, Aspabara, Ariya Vastakku, Arbaku, Median princes.
- 714-686? Hezekiah of Judah. Tarhunazi of Milid and Yaman of Ashdod captured by Sargon II.
- 711 Sargon's conquest of Cyprus.
- 709 Sargon in Babylon. Khumbanigas (Umanigas), son of Umbadara of Susiana; Ambris of Tabal, Kiakku of Skhinukhta, Matti of Tuna, Untallu of Kummukh, Argistis II. of Urartu.
- 705-681 Sennacherib, king of Assyria. Shabataka, king of Egypt.
- 704 Akises and Merodachbaladan in Babylon.
- 702 Belibus in Babylon.
- 701 Sennacherib invades Palestine, and is defeated.
- Cir. 700 Delices in Media.
- 699 Aparanadius in Babylon.
- 693 Regebelus (Suzub) in Babylon.
- 692 Mesesimordacus in Babylon. Taharka of Egypt. Kudurnakhunte, Talhak (Silhak) of Susiana.
- 689 Babylon destroyed by Sennacherib.
- 688 Interregnum in Babylon.
- 687 Candaules, king of Lydia, dies. Gyges, king.
- 685-641 Ma. asseh, king of Judah.
- 681-668 Esarhaddon, king of Assyria. Tributary to him were the following princes of Syria and Cyprus: Baal of Tyre, Manasseh of Judah, Kausgabri of Edom, Mutsuri of Moab, Tsilbil of Gaza, Mituti of Ascalon, Ikasamsu of Ankuaruna, Milkiasap of Byblus, Matanbaal of Arvad, Abibaal of Usimurun, Suduil of Beth-Ammon, Akhimilku of Ashdod, Aegisthus of Idalium, Pythagoras of Kitrusi, Kin of Salamis, Eteandrus of Paphus, Irisu of Soli, Damasus of Curium, Admisu of Tamasus, Damasus of Ambikhadast, Unasagusu of Limenia, Putsuku of Aphrodisium.
- Tiuspa the Cimmerian. Midas the Phrygian.
- 668-626 Asurbanipal, king of Assyria.
- 670 Conquest of Egypt. Nutamun (Undamene).
- 667 Saosduchinus (Samulsamukin) in Babylon.
- 666 Sandasarmes of Cilicia.
- 664 Twenty-sixth (Saitic) Dynasty: Psammetichus I.
- 653-615 Ardys of Lydia. Struggles over the succession in Susiana; Teumman, Ummanigas and Tamarrit, sons of Urtaki, Indabigas and Takhe, Unmanaldas; Bel Basa of Gambul.
- 647-625 Phraortes of Media. Asurbanipal (as Kiniladanus) in Babylon.
- 640-638 Amon of Judah.
- 638-608 Josiah of Judah. Erisinni of Manna.
- 625-585 Cyaxares of Media. Nabopalassar of Babylon. Belzikiriskun of Assyria.
- 615-603 Sadyattes of Lydia. Sarduris III. of Urartu. Asuredililani of Assyria.
- 610-594 Necho of Egypt. Saracus (Esarhaddon II.).
- 608 Jehoahaz of Juda. Jehoiakim (Eliakim).
- 606 Nineveh destroyed by the Chaldaeans. Kastarit and Mamitiarsu of Media. Achaemenes.
- 604-561 Nebuchadnezzar II., king of Babylon.
- 603-560 Alyattes of Lydia.
- 597 Jehoiachin (Coniah). Teispes the Persian.
- 597-586 Zedekiah of Juda. Madyas, the Scythian, slain. Babylonian captivity of the Hebrews begins.
- 594-589 Psammetichus II. of Egypt.
- 589-564 Hophra (Apries) of Egypt. Cyrus I. in Susiana. Ariaramnes in Persia.
- 586 Destruction of Jerusalem.
- 585-550 Astyages (Istuvegu.) May 28, 585, eclipse of the sun.
- 573 Cambyes I., in Susiana. Arsames in Persis.
- 570-526 Amasis (co-regent with Hophra, until 564).
- 560-546 Croesus of Lydia.

558-529	Cyrus II. the Great.
555-538	Nabonidus of Babylon.
551-479	Life of Confucius, the Chinese sage.
550	Lao-tsze, founder of Taoism, flourishes in China.
550	Cyrus subjugates Media.
529-522	Cambyses II.
526-525	Psammetichus III. Egypt conquered by Cambyses. Twenty-seventh (Persian) Dynasty in Egypt.
522	Gautama (Pseudo-Smerdis) in Media.
521-486	Darius I. Hystaspes. In May (521) revolt of Athrina in Susiana, and of Nidintabel in Babylonia; in December, battle on the Tigris, and capture of Babylon.
	Revolt of the Martiya in Susiana.
520	Revolt of Fravartis (Phraortes) in Media: in January, battle at Marus and near Issidu; March, battle of Vistaspa with the Parthians; in July, battle at Kundurus.
519	Beginning of January, battle at Capisakanis. End of February, battle at Gandumava in Arachosia. In November, revolt of Aracha in Babylonia. Conquest of the Sacae.
517	Darius I. in Egypt.
508	Voyage of Scylax of Caryanda.
502	Rebellion in Susiana.
501	The Ionic Revolt of the Greeks.
492	The Persian fleet shipwrecked off Mount Athos.
490	Battle of Marathon.
486-465	Xerxes I. Xababash in Egypt.
480	Battle of Salamis.
468	Battle of the Eurymedon.
464-424	Artaxerxes I.
449	"Peace of Cimon," between Greece and Persia.
424	Xerxes II.
424-405	Darius II.
415-408	Twenty-eighth (Saltic) Dynasty.
408-387	Twenty-ninth (Mendesian) Dynasty.
405-361	Artaxerxes II.
400-387	Achoris of Egypt.
401	The Anabasis of Cyrus the Younger. Battle at Cunaxa.
378-350	Thirtieth (Sebennytic) Dynasty in Egypt. Nectanebus I. of Babylon. Peace of Antalcidas (387). Esmunazar II., son of Tabnit of Sidon, dies soon after 386.
383	Victory of Evagoras of Cyprus over the Persians. King Mausolus of Caria.
370 (?)	The Nirvana of Buddha.
369-361	Tachus of Egypt.
367-350	Nectanebus II.
361-338	Artaxerxes III. Ochus.
359-336	Philip of Macedon.
338-336	Arses.
336-330	Darius III. Codomannus. Alexander the Great succeeds his father (336).
334	Battle of Granicus
333	Battle of Issus.
332	Alexandria founded.
331	October 2. Battle at Gaugamela (Arbela).
330	July, Darius III. murdered.
329-328	Alexander in Bactria.
327	Alexander marches into India.
323	June 13. Death of Alexander at Babylon.
323-317	Philip Arrhidaeus. Ptolemy I. Soter, son of Lagos.
321	Perdiccas murdered. Atropates of Media. Ardoates of Armenia.
317	Cassander in Macedonia.
312	Era of the Seleucidae. The Dynasty of the Maurya in India. Sandrocottus.
306-280	Seleucus Nicator.

- 301 Battle at Ipsus. Death of Antigonus. Lysimachus in Asia Minor.
The Kingdom of Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus.
- 293-261 Antiochus Soter. Ergamenes of Meroë.
- 285-247 Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, and Arsinoë.
- 283 The Kingdom of Pergamum founded by Philetaerus.
- 281 Battle of Corupedium; death of Lysimachus.
- 280 The Gauls under Brennus invade Greece.
- 263-226 Asoka, Buddhist king in India. Eumenes of Pergamum.
- 261-247 Antiochus Theus.
- 257 Diodotus in Bactria.
- 248 Arsaces in Parthia.
- 247-227 Seleucus Callinicus. Ptolemy III. Evergetes (until 222).
- 246-214 Tiridates, king of the Parthians. Nicomedes I. of Bithynia.
- 241-197 Attalus, king of Pergamum.
- 240 Attalus conquers the Gauls. Ariaramnes of Cappadocia.
- 227-223 Seleucus Ceraunus.
- 223-186 Antiochus III. the Great. Elymaean Kingdom.
- 221 Chung, first emperor of China. Dynasty of Ts'in. Completion of the Great Wall in China.
- 221-205 Ptolemy IV. Philopator.
- 214-196 Artabanus I. of Parthia (Arsaces III.) Euthydemus of Bactria.
Dasaratha, grandson of Asoka.
- 206 Kao-ti becomes emperor of China. Dynasty of Han (206-A.D. 220).
- 205-182 Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. Eucratides of Bactria. Demetrius of Afghanistan.
- 198 Battle at Phaneas.
- 197-159 Eumenes II. of Pergamum. Priapatus the Parthian (Arsaces IV.),
Patocratz of Istakhr (?).
- 190 Battle at Magnesia.
- 188-160 Phraates I. (Arsaces V.).
- 186-175 Seleucus Philopator.
- 181-145 Ptolemy VII., Philometor, and his mother Cleopatra.
- 175-163 Antiochus Epiphanes.
- 170-136 Mithradates I. (Arsaces VI.).
- 169-117 Ptolemy IX. Evergetes II.
- 168 Lycia independent. Heliocles of Bactria (?).
- 163-151 Demetrius I., Soter.
- Cir. 150 Valarsaces in Armenia.
- 145 Prusias of Bithynia (dies). Menander of India (?).
- 139-130 Antiochus Sidetes.
- 138-133 Attalus III. of Pergamum.
- 137 Orhoe-bar-Khevyne founds the Kingdom of Edessa.
- 136 Phraates II. The kingdom of Mesene becomes tributary to the Parthians.
- 135-106 John Hyrcanus and the revolt of the Maccabees.
- Cir. 130 Yue-chi invade Bactria.
- 127-124 Artabanus II. (Arsaces VIII.).
- 127-108 Wu-ti, emperor of China. Period of Chinese expansion.
- 124-87 Mithradates II. of Parthia.
- 120-63 Mithradates of Pontus.
- 117-81 Ptolemy X., Lathyrus.
- 107-88 Ptolemy XI. Alexander I.
- Cir. 92 Tigranes of Armenia. Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.
- 88-84 War between Rome and Mithradates of Pontus.
- 87-77 Arsaces X.
- 81-80 Alexander II. (Ptolemy XII.) enthroned in Egypt by Sulla.
- 80-62 Ptolemy XIII. Auletes (Neus Dionysus).
- 77-70 Sanatroeces (Arsaces XI.).
- 75 Nicomedes III. bequeaths Bithynia to Rome.
- 70-60 Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.).
- 69-39 Hyrcanus II.
- 68-65 Antiochus XIII., the last Seleucid.
- 63 Aristobulus taken prisoner. Archelaus I. of Cappadocia. Darius of Atropatene.
- 60-56 Mithradates III. of Parthia.

56	The Era of Vikramaditya in India.
56-57	Orodes. Artavasdes of Armenia.
58	Battle of Carrhae. Abgarus of Edessa.
47-44 (30)	Ptolemy XV. and Cleopatra. Caesarion.
41	Expedition of Mark Antony against Palmyra. Ariobarzanes of Atropatene.
37-2	Phraates IV. Sames of Samosata. Artavasdes of Atropatene. Artaxias of Armenia.
34-17	Archelaus II. of Cappadocia. Mark Antony in Armenia.
31-14 A.D.	Augustus, Emperor. Artavasdes of Armenia dies in Alexandria. Mithradates of Commagene.
A.D.	
2-4	Phraataces. Artavasdes of Atropatene dies.
2	Death of Herod.
4	Orodes II. Vonones I. (dies 19 A.D.).
6	Judea a Roman province.
12-41	Artabanus III.
14-37	Tiberius, Emperor.
17	{ Commagene, Roman Province. Pontus, Roman Province.
18-34	Zeno (Artaxias) enthroned in Armenia by Germanicus.
33-37	Tiridates, the Parthian.
34	Arsaces enthroned in Armenia by Artabanus.
38-72	Antiochus Epiphanes of Commagene.
41-54	Claudius, Emperor.
41-42	Gotarzes the Parthian.
41-44	Herod Agrippa.
42-46	Vordanes.
46-51	Gotarzes restored.
51-78	Vologeses I. Pacorus in Atropatene. Tiridates in Armenia. Exedares in Armenia.
54-68	Nero, Emperor.
65	The Emperor Ming-ti sends to India for missionaries and books to teach Buddhism in China.
70	Destruction of Jerusalem.
78	Era of Kanerki (Kanishka) in India.
78-108	Pacorus. Decebalus of Dacia.
79	Artabanus.
81	Cuneiform Inscription of Pacorus.
98-117	Trajan, Emperor.
Cir. 107-113	Mithradates, perhaps Parthian anti-king. Sanatruk.
112-127	Chosroes. Parthamasiris.
115	Trajan in Mesopotamia. Attambil of Mesene. Parthamaspadēs.
117-138	Hadrian, Emperor.
Cir. 130-149	Vologeses II. Vologeses III.
132-135	Revolt of Jews under Bar-Cochba against Romans.
161-180	Marcus Aurelius, Emperor.
165	The Plague. Barsemius of Hatra. Sasan, Prince in Persia (?)
190-209	Vologeses IV. Gaotshithra. Papak. Daraya. Manotshihir, Prince of Persis. Kingdom of Hira.
209-226	Vologeses V. and Artabanus IV.
211-217	Caracalla, Emperor.
222-235	Alexander Severus, Emperor.
226	Ardashir I. founds the Dynasty of the Sassanidae. Chosroes of Armenia (until 258). Aspahapets in Tabaristan.
241-272	Sapor I. Dhaizan of Hatra.
250	Sapor conquers Hatra.
254-260	Valerian, Emperor. Valerian is captured by Sapor.
254-268	Gallienus, Emperor.
264	Odenathus of Palmyra.
265-420	Dynasty of Tsin in China.
270-275	Aurelian, Emperor.
271	Palmyra conquered. Zenobia captured.
272-273	Hormizdas, Persian king.
276	Varahran I. Varahran II. Mani executed.
286	Tiridates of Armenia. Christianity in Armenia.
293	Varahan III. Narses.

- 302-309 Hormizdas II. Chosroes II. of Armenia.
 309 Adhar-narseh, Persian king. Sapor II.
 319 Era of the Gupta in India.
 324-337 Constantine, Emperor.
 337-361 Constantius, Emperor. Tiranes of Armenia. Arshak of Armenia.
 347 Peace between Persia and Byzantium.
 350 Siege of Nisibis. Dynasties in India; the Yadava in the North and the Chola and Pandia in the South.
 361-363 Julian, Emperor. Campaign against the Persians.
 363-364 Jovian, Emperor. Peace with Persia.
 379-395 Theodosius, Emperor. Ardashir II.
 393-388 Sapor III.
 388-399 Varahran IV. End of the Kingdom of Mesen
 399-420 Yezdigerd I.
 419-420 The Tartars overrun northern China.
 420-589 Chinese dynasties at Nanking.
 420-438 Varahran V. Artaxias IV. of Armenia.
 438-457 Yezdigerd II.
 451 Battle between the Persians and Armenians at Avarair.
 457-459 Hormizdas III.
 459-484 Perozes, Persian King. Queen Dinaki.
 474-491 Zeno, Emperor of the East.
 484-488 Balas. Dynasty of the Valabhi in India.
 488-531 Kobad. Mazdak, the Heretic.
 496-499 Jamasp of Persia: interregnum.
 502 Persian War with the Eastern Roman Empire.
 527-565 Justinian, Emperor.
 531-578 Chosroes I., Nushirvan. Destruction of the Kingdom of Hephthalites.
 540 Conquest of Antioch by the Persians.
 562 Supremacy of Chosroes over Egypt.
 571 Theodorus of Thebes in Egypt erects buildings in Philae.
 578-590 Hormizdas IV. Mangalisvara, king in India.
 581-618 Dynasty of Sui in China. National revival.
 582-605 Maurice, Emperor.
 590-628 Chosroes Parviz.
 605-610 Phocas, Emperor of Eastern Rome. War between Persia and Byzantium.
 609 Armenia lost to the East Roman Empire.
 610-641 Heraclius, Emperor.
 614 Jerusalem captured by the Persians.
 618-908 Dynasty of Tang. Classic period of Chinese poetry.
 627 Kobad II.
 628-629 Ardashir III.
 630 Buran and Azarmidokht, Persian Queens.
 632 June 16, Yezdigerd III. becomes king.
 634 March of the Arabians against Bagdad.
 635 Battle of Cadesia.
 637 Saad-ibn-Abu-Wakkas captures and destroys Ctesiphon.
 639 Susiana conquered by the Arabs.
 640 Battle at Nehavend.
 641 Arabs conquer Edessa.
 643 The Roman Emperor Theodosius sends an embassy to China. Conquests of Li Yüan.
 651 Death of Yezdigerd III. (Summer.)
 655-705 The Empress Wu-hao rules China during the nominal tenure of her husband and son.
 666 Arabs destroy Merv.
 668 Emperor Kau Tsung completes the conquest of Korea.
 685 Abdullah-bin-Hazim, governor of Merv.
 711 Expedition of the Arabians against India.
 Cir. 750 King Dantiburga of the Dynasty of the Rathor.
 960-1260 Dynasty of Sung. Augustan era of Chinese literature. Period of Tatar aggressions.
 984-1310 Chalukya Dynasty in Western India.
 1192 Prithvi Raja of Delhi conquered by the Pathans.
 1260 Kublai Khan completes the conquest of China.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

II.—TO ILLUSTRATE GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY.

GREEK HISTORY.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE PEACE OF
NAUPACTUS, 217 B.C.

B. C.		
1800	The "Aegean" civilization.	
1400	The Mycenaean Age at its height.	
1200	Phoenician traders on Greek shores. The Atridae in the Peloponnese. The Thesidae in Athens. The Kingdom of Pylos.	1194-689 The dynasty of the Sardonidae in Lydia.
1000	Period of the Thessalo-Dorian Migration. The Thessalians conquer the Peneus region. The Arnaeans conquer Boeotia. The Dorians conquer the Peloponnese. The Heraclidae in Messenia, Argolis, Laconia. The Dorians of Argos predominant. The Melanthidae in Athens. King Codrus. Achaean (Aeolian) } Ionian } Migration to the western coast of Dorian } Asia Minor.	1100? The Rasen-nae (Etruscans) in Upper Italy.
900	The Iliad (Homer) Last third of the ninth century B. C. Constitution of 'Lycurgus' in Sparta. Completion of the Ionian Confederacy.	Carthage founded.
800	The Thessalians complete the conquest of the countries about Thessaly. The Spartans conquer Amyclae. Formation of the Delphian Amphictyony.	Foundation of Capua.
780	Founding of Sinope.	
776	Beginning of the Olympiads.	
770	The Odyssey. Hesiod ("Works and Days").	
770-744?	Phidon of Argos.	
756	Founding of Trapezus and Cyzicus.	753 April 21: Rome founded.
752	Institution of decennial kings (archons) at Athens.	
750?	Disappearance of ancient monarchy.	753-510 Period of the Roman kings.
745	Beginning of the aristocratic rule of the Bacchiadae in Corinth.	753-716 Romulus Roman king.
744	Spartans admitted to the Olympic games.	
735-716	First Messenian War.	
734	Founding of Syracuse.	
725	Founding of Cyme (Cumae) in Italy. Constitution of Philolaus at Thebes.	

- B. C.
- 720 Founding of Sybaris and of Zancle.
- 713 Office of king at Athens thrown open to the nobles.
- 710 Founding of Rhegium.
- 707 Founding of Tarentum.
- 705 Coreyra becomes Dorian.
- 704 Aminocles, ship-builder at Corinth.
- 700 Chalcidice occupied by Greek colonies.
- 700-650 Feud between Chalcis and Eretria.—Perdiccas I. (Dynasty of the Argeadae) founds the kingdom of Macedon.
- 690 Founding of Gela in Sicily.
- 682 Archonship at Athens made annual and divided among nine archons.
- 675 Chalcedon founded.
- 665 Tyranny of the Orthagoridae in Sicily.
- 658 Byzantium founded.
- The poets Archilochus and Terpander.
- Timocracy in Cyme and Colophon, and in the Epizephyrian Locri. The Legislation of Zaleucus.
- 655 Tyranny of Cypselus in Corinth.
- Leucas and Ambracia founded.
- 645-631? Second Messenian War. The poet Tyrtaeus.
- 640 Charondas in Catana. Tyranny of Procles in Epidaurus.
- Cylon of Athens winner in the Olympic games.
- 633 Cyrene founded.
- 630-610 Tyranny of Thrasybulus in Miletus. War with Lydia.
- 628? Cylon's conspiracy at Athens.
- 628 Selinus founded.
- 625-585 Periander of Corinth. Potidaea founded.
- 625-580 Tyranny of Theagenes of Megara.
- 624-546 Thales of Miletus.
- 621 Draco's legislation at Athens.
- 611 Anaximander of Miletus born.
- 610 Solon secures Salamis for Athens.
- 600 The artist Gitiadas of Sparta.
- 596-565 Clisthenes of Sicily.
- 594 Solon archon and thesmothete at Athens.
- 594-583 Solon's constitutional reforms.
- 592-580 Pittacus ruler in Mitylene. Alcaeus, Sappho.
- 592-583 Amphictyonic war against Crissa (First Sacred War).
- 590-470 Building of the Artemisium in Ephesus.
- 587 The Isthmian games revived.
- 582 Renewed prominence of the Pythian games.
- 581 Agrigentum founded.
- Rise of Aegina.
- 580 Pythagoras born.
- 580-570 Chilon's reform at Sparta. Increase of the power of the ephors.
- The poet Alcman at Sparta; the artists Dipoenus and Scyllis of Crete.
- 573 Renewed prominence of the Nemean games.
- 570 Peace concluded between Athens and Megara.
- 570-554 Phalaris tyrant of Agrigentum.
- 565 Mediation of the Parians in Miletus.
- 563-560 Croesus subdues the Asiatic Greeks.
- 560-555 First tyranny of Pisistratus in Athens.
- 560 Fall of Siris.
- 559 Heraclea in Pontus founded.
- The poet Stesichorus of Himera.
- 556-468 The poet Simonides of Ceos.
- 555 Treaty between Sparta and Tegea. Formation of the Spartan alliance in the Peloponnese.
- 550-549 Second tyranny of Pisistratus in Athens.
- 550 Defeat of the Thessalians at Hyampolis in Phocis.
- Theognis born in Megara.
- The temple of Zeus at Olympia begun.
- 715-672 Numa Pompilius Roman king.
- 689 The Mermnadae in Lydia.
- 689-653 Gyges.
- 672-640 Tullus Hostilius Roman king.
- 653-617 Ardys.
- 640-616 Ancus Martius Roman king.
- 617-612 Sadyattes.
- 616-578 Tarquinius Priscus Roman king.
- 612-563 Alyattes.
- 600 The Celts begin to enter Upper Italy.
- 578-534 Servius Tullius Roman king.
- 563-549 Croesus.
- 558 Cyrus king of the Persians.

- B. C.
- 549 The Argives defeated by the Spartans.
- 548-540 The Persians subdue the Asiatic Greeks.
- 540-520 Temple of Athena at Aegina.
- 540 The artist Bathycles of Magnesia. Eleatic philosophic school of Xenophanes.
- Milo of Croton, the athlete.
- 540-498 Amyntas I. of Macedonia.
- 538 Pisistratus for the third time tyrant at Athens.
- 536 Lygdamis tyrant of Naxos. Polycrates tyrant of Samos.
- 535 The Alcmeonidae undertake the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.
- 532 Pythagoras at Croton.
- 530 Second defeat of the Thessalians at Hyampolis.
- 528 Death of the philosopher Anaximenes.
- 527 Pisistratus dies. His sons Hippias and Hipparchus tyrants of Athens. The poet Anacreon of Teos.
- Homeric poems edited.
- 525 Rising of the democracy in Megara.
- 524 Fall of Lygdamis.
- 521 Death of Polycrates. Pindar of Thebes (521-441).
- 520 Cleomenes I., king of Sparta. Telys, tyrant at Sybaris.
- Miltiades, prince in the Chersonese.
- 516 Samos ravaged by the Persians.
- 516 The aristocracy restored at Megara.
- 514 Conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton at Athens; Hipparchus slain.
- 513 Defeat of the Attic emigrants under Clisthenes at Lysydrium.
- 512 Phrynichus, tragic poet at Athens. Macedonia subdued by the Persians.
- 511 Sybaris destroyed by Croton. Reconnoitring expedition of the Persians in the Greek waters.
- 510 Cleomenes I., Clisthenes, and Isagoras overthrow the Pisistratidae at Athens.
- The Plataeans attach themselves to Athens.
- 508 Strife between Isagoras and Clisthenes at Athens. Democratic constitution established by Clisthenes.
- 507 Cleomenes I. of Sparta interferes in Attic affairs. Victory of the Athenian democracy.
- 506 Coalition of the Spartans, Thebans, and Chalcidians against Athens. Victories of Clisthenes over the Thebans and Chalcidians. Xanthippus, Aristides. Restoration of the aristocracy in Sicily. The Spartan hegemony in the Peloponnese accomplished. Uprising against the Pythagoreans in Croton.
- 505 Beginning of the feud between Athens and Aegina.
- 500 Expedition of Aristagoras of Miletus against Naxos.
- Rising of the Ionians against Persia. Hecataeus of Miletus.
- Death of Pythagoras.
- 500-495 The Ionic Revolt.
- 499 The Ionians and Athenians conquer and destroy Sardis.
- Defeat of the Greeks at Ephesus.
- 498-454 Alexander I. of Macedon.
- 498-491 Hippocrates tyrant of Gela in Sicily.
- 498 Cyprus, the Hellespont, and Caria subjugated by the Persians.
- 497 Aeolis subjugated by the Persians. Death of Aristagoras.
- 496 Naval battle at Lade, Persians victorious.
- Sophocles, the tragic poet, born at Athens.
- 495 The Persians destroy Miletus; end of the Ionic revolt.
- War between Sparta and Argos.
- 494 Death of Histiaeus; Miltiades returns to Athens.
- Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium.
- 493 Mardonius advances into Macedonia. Themistocles at Athens begins building the harbor of the Piræus.
- 534-510 Tarquinius Superbus Roman king.
- Darius I. king of the Persians.
- Expedition of Darius I. against the Scythians.
- 510-509 Fall of the Tarquins.
- 510-28 Period of the Roman Republic.
- The Etruscans at the height of their power.

B. C.

- 491 Persian heralds in Greece : " Earth and Water." Fall of Demaratus in Sparta.
Gelon, tyrant of Gela.
- 490-479 Persian Wars ; war also with Carthage.
- 490 The Persians under Datis and Artaphernes advance against Naxos, Eretria, and Athens.
Victory of Miltiades at Marathon on September 12.
- 489 Fall of Miltiades.
- 488 Demaratus goes to Susa ; death of Cleomenes ; Leonidas, king of Sparta. War between Aegina and Athens breaks out anew.
Theron becomes tyrant of Agrigentum.
- 485 Gelon conquers Syracuse, and establishes his sway in eastern Sicily.
- 483 Aristides ostracized and banished from Athens.
- 482 Themistocles's naval decree passes ; the Athenian navy enlarged.
The Persians arm for a campaign against Greece.
The conquest of Himera in Sicily by Theron.
- 481 Xerxes advances to Sardis ; a Greek congress meets at the Isthmus of Corinth.
- 480 April : The Persians leave Sardis on the march toward Greece.
May : The Greeks at the Vale of Tempe, and their retreat.
June : The Persians leave Doriscus in Thrace.
August : The battles at Artemisium and at Thermopylae ; death of Leonidas. Great victory of Gelon at Himera over the Carthaginians.
September : Destruction of Athens by the Persians. Battle of Salamis (September 30) ; retreat of Xerxes. Euripides, the tragic poet, born.
November : Xerxes in Sardis.
- 479 End of September : Battle of Plataea ; battle at Mycale.
- 478 Xanthippus conquers Sestos.
Themistocles and the wall about Athens.
The Spartan Pausanias conquers the island of Cyprus.
The Athenians gain the naval leadership of the Greeks.
- 477 The Piræus fortified ; Themistocles's naval reforms.
Pausanias takes Byzantium. He begins traitorous dealings with the Persians.
Death of Gelon. Hiero I., king of Syracuse.
- 477-451 The Confederacy of Delos.
- 476 The union of the Ionian fleet with the Athenian.
Cimon conquers Eion.
- 475 Unsuccessful campaign of the Spartans in Thessaly.
Mantineia founded.
- 474 Victory of Hiero I. at Cyme over the Etruscans.
- 472 " The Persians " of Aeschylus brought out.
Death of Theron of Agrigentum.
Themistocles ostracized from Athens ; goes to Argos.
- 469 Birth of Socrates (died 399).
Revolt of the Arcadians against Sparta.
- 468 Cimon's conquest of Scyros. The Theseum built at Athens.
The conquest of Tiryns and Mycenæ by the Argives.
- 467 The Persians driven from the Chersonese.
Victory of the Spartans over the Arcadians at Dipaea.
Death of Hiero of Syracuse.
- 466 King Thrasybulus driven from Sicily.
- 465 Flight of Themistocles to Persia. Death of Pausanias.
Double victory of Cimon over the Persians at the Eurymedon.
Death of Aristides.
- 493 League between Rome and the Latins.
- The Egyptians revolt from the Persians.
- 486 League between the Romans, Latins and Hernici.
Death of Darius I. Xerxes, king of Persia. Egypt subdued.
- 483-475 War between Rome and Veii.
- Death of Xerxes. Artaxerxes I. king of Persia.

B. C.

- 460 The island of Naxos rebels from Athens, and is subdued by Cimon. Ephialtes and Pericles become prominent.
- 459-431 The Age of Pericles.
- 459 Thucydides, the historian, born.
Defeat of the Athenians at Drabescus. Revolt of the island of Thasos.
Earthquake in Laconia: Third Messenian War begins.
- 458 Cimon subjugates the Thasians. Egypt revolts from Persia.
The Senate of the Areopagus deprived of its political functions; introduction of pay for jury service in Athens.
The "Orestea" of Aeschylus brought out.
- 457 Athenian expedition to Messenia in support of the Spartans. The Athenian contingent dismissed; Sparta and Athens become estranged.
Beginnings of the new Athenian League on the mainland.
Victory of the Athenians and Egyptians over the Persians at Papremis.
- 456 Long Walls built between Athens and her harbors.
Cimon ostracized and banished from Athens. The Megarians in league with the Athenians.
Outbreak of the First Peloponnesian War: Battle at Halleis, naval battle at Ceryphalea.
Death of Aeschylus.
- 455 April: Victory of the Athenians off Aegina.
June: Beginning of the blockade of Aegina by the Athenians; successful battle of Myronides in Megaris; march of the Spartans under Nicomedes against the Phocians, then into Boeotia.
End of August: Battle of Tanagra.
End of October: Battle of Oenophyta.
- 454 February: Fall of Aegina, Long Walls of Athens completed.
The Zeugitae admitted to the archonship at Athens.
- 454-413 Perdiccas of Macedon.
- 451 End of the Third Messenian War; the Messenians depart for Naupactus. 451-449 The Decemvirate. Law of the Twelve Tables in Rome.
July: Destruction of the Athenian army in Egypt upon the island of Prosopitis.
The Treasury of the Confederacy of Delos deposited in the Acropolis of Athens. Cimon recalled to Athens. The Confederacy of Delos becomes the Athenian Empire.
Alcibiades born.
- 449 Five Years' Truce between Athens and Sparta.
- 447 Death of Cimon at Citium. Great victory (on land and on sea) of the Athenians at Salamis in Cyprus; the 'Peace of Cimon.'
Defeat of the Athenians at Coronea; end of the League under Athenian leadership on land.
- 446 Megara and Euboea revolt from Athens; Euboea subdued by Pericles.
- 445 The Thirty Years' Truce between Athens and Sparta.
The Piræus rebuilt by Hippodamus.
- 444-380 Aristophanes, the comic poet.
- 443 Founding of Thurii.
- 442 Thucydides, the son of Melissus, ostracized and banished from Athens
- 440 The Third Long Wall of Athens built.
- 440-439 War between Athens and Samos.
- 438 The Parthenon on the Acropolis completed. Highest activity of Phidias.
- 437-432 The Propylæa on the Acropolis built. 437-425 War between Rome and Veii.
- 437 Amphipolis in Thrace founded.
- 436-338 Life of Isocrates.
- 435-434 Beginning of the war between Corcyra and Corinth.
- 434-355 Life of Xenophon.
- 433 Battle at the Sybota islands.

- B. C.
- 432 Pericles and his friends assailed in Athens.
Potidaea falls away from Athens, and is besieged by the Athenians.
- 431-404 The Peloponnesian War.
- 431 Athens and Sparta break off diplomatic relations.
April : Unsuccessful attack of the Thebans upon Plataea.
June : Invasion of Attica by the Spartan king Archidamus.
- 430 Outbreak of the plague in Athens.
- 429 Potidaea conquered by the Athenians.
The Boeotians and Spartans besiege Plataea. Defeat of the Athenians at Spartolus.
Birth of Plato (?).
September : Death of Pericles. Nicias and Cleon prominent.
Raid of Sitalces into Macedonia.
- 428 Mytilene falls away from Athens.
Death of the historian Herodotus in Athens. Hippocrates of Cos.
- 427 Cleon, member of the Athenian Senate.
Fall of Mytilene and destruction of Plataea.
Fierce party conflicts in Corcyra.
League of the Athenians with Leontini in Sicily.
- 426 Heraclea in Malis founded.
Victories of the Athenian general Demosthenes at Olpe and Ambracia.
- 425 Victories of the Athenians at Pylos in Messenia and at Sphacteria. Cleon general ; his increasing influence at Athens. Darius II. Nothus, king of Persia.
- 424 Peace in Sicily.
Defeat of the Athenian Hippocrates at Delium.
The Spartan Brasidas in Chalcidice takes Amphipolis ; banishment of the historian Thucydides.
- 423 Armistice between Athens and Sparta. Polyclitus of Sicily, the sculptor. The Sabellians take Capua.
- 422 Defeat of the Athenians at Amphipolis. Death of Cleon and Brasidas.
- 421 April : The Peace of Nicias between Athens and Sparta.
- 420 Intrigues of Alcibiades in Athens and in the Peloponnese. The Campanians take Cyme.
- 419 Alcibiades secures Patræ for Athens.
- 418 Hyperbolus ostracized and banished from Athens.
Victory of the Spartans at Mantinea over the Argives and their allies.
- 417 Double revolution in Argos.
- 416 The Athenians conquer the island of Melos.
- 415-413 The Sicilian Expedition.
- 415 The mutilation of the Hermae in Athens.
Beginning of the war of the Athenians with Syracuse.
The Sicilian expedition. Fall of Alcibiades ; his flight to Sparta.
- 414 Syracuse hard pressed by Nicias. The Spartan Gylippus in Syracuse. Distress of the Athenians before Syracuse.
- 413-399 Archelaus, king of Macedon.
- 413 April : The Spartans occupy Decelea in Attica.
September : Destruction of the Athenians at Syracuse.
- 412 Nearly all the Ionian states fall away from Athens.
October : Alcibiades and the Persian Tissaphernes.
- 411 April : Oligarchic revolution of the Four Hundred in Athens. The fleet and the army at Samos place Alcibiades at their head.
June : Fall of the oligarchy in Athens.
July : War at the Hellespont. Pharnabazus. Victory of the Athenians at Cynossema.
October : Victory of Alcibiades at Abydos.
- 410 Victory of Alcibiades at Cyzicus. Fall of Hermocrates the Syracusan. Diocles.
- 409 Alcibiades conquers Byzantium.

B. C.

- 408 June: Alcibiades in Athens.
Cyrus the Younger Persian viceroy in Sardis.
Lysander Spartan admiral. The oligarchic decarchies established.
City of Rhodes founded.
The Carthaginians destroy Selinus and Himera.
- 407 Fall of Alcibiades. Death of Hermocrates.
- 406 Victory of the Athenians at Arginusae. Condemnation of the Athenian generals.
Death of Euripides and Sophocles.
The Carthaginians conquer Agrigentum.
Dionysius I. tyrant in Syracuse.
- 405 August: Defeat of the Athenians at Aegospotami. Siege of Athens.
- 404 April: Fall of Athens; complete destruction of the Athenian empire.
June: Rule of the 'Thirty' in Athens.
Theramenes and Critias.
Peace between Dionysius I. and the Carthaginians.
Alcibiades assassinated. Death of Theramenes.
- 403 Thrasybulus and the Athenian democrats occupy Phyle and afterward the Piraeus. Death of Critias; the Spartans intervene.
Restoration of the Athenian democracy; amnesty.
- 401 War of the Spartans against Elis. March of Cyrus the Younger into Mesopotamia. Battle of Cunaxa; death of Cyrus. Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon to Trapezus.
Ctesias the historian.
- 400 Dissolution of the Elean state.
- 400-368 Archytas of Tarentum.
- 399 May: Death of Socrates in Athens.
Agesilaus becomes king of Sparta.
War between Persia and Sparta; the former soldiers of Cyrus enter the Spartan service.
- 399-394 Aeropos king of Macedonia.
- 396 Agesilaus in Asia Minor.
- 395 Victory of Agesilaus at Sardis.
Revolt of the northern and central Greeks against Sparta.
Lysander falls in the battle of Halartus.
Scopas builds the new temple of Athena Alea at Tegea.
- 394 Return of Agesilaus from Asia Minor.
July: Victory of the Spartans at Nemea.
August: Conon destroys the Spartan fleet at Cnidus.
Victory of Agesilaus at Coronea.
- 393 Beginning of the Corinthian War; mercenary troops of Iphicrates. Conon restores the Long Walls of Athens.
Xenophon at Scillus, in Elis.
- 393-369 Amyntas II. king of Macedonia.
- 391 Battles at Corinth. Beginning of new struggles of the Spartans in Asia.
- 390 Successful campaign of Thrasybulus in Asia Minor.
- 389 Agesilaus in Acarnania.
Death of Thrasybulus at Aspendus.
- 388 Antalcidas, ambassador of Sparta, goes to Susa.
- 387 The Peace of Antalcidas.
Plataea restored by the Spartans.
Dionysius I. of Syracuse subdues Rhegium.
Plato opens his school in Athens.
- 384 Destruction of Mantinea.
Demosthenes, the orator, born in Athens.
Aristotle born at Stagira.
- 383 Beginning of the Olynthian War.
The Spartans occupy the Cadmea of Thebes.
- 382 Philip of Macedon born.

Artaxerxes II.
Mnemon, king
of Persia.

Conquest of Veii.
395-391 The Romans occupy southern Etruria.

Defeat of the Romans on the Alia. Rome captured and burned by the Celts.

B. C.

- 380 Scopas in Athens. Praxiteles (flourishes 364-336). The painters Zeuxis and Parrhasius.
- 379 Dissolution of the Olynthian confederacy. Phlius submits to Sparta.
Culmination of the power of Sparta.
December: Thebes under Pelopidas rises against Sparta.
- 378-376 Three unsuccessful campaigns of the Spartans in Boeotia.
- 378-377 The new Naval Confederacy of Athens founded.
- 376 Victory of the Athenian Chabrias at Naxos.
- 375 Chabrias victorious over the Triballi at Abdera.
Successes of Timotheus in the Ionian Sea.
- 374 Jason of Pherae, tagus of Thessaly.
Temporary peace between Athenians and Spartans.
- 372 Plataea again destroyed by the Thebans.
- 371 June: Peace congress at Sparta.
July 6: Epaminondas defeats the Spartans at Leuctra.
Supremacy of the Thebans in central Greece.
Revolutionary scenes throughout the Peloponnese.
Restoration of Mantinea.
The cities of Arcadia unite.
- 370 Megalopolis founded in Arcadia.
Death of Jason of Pherae.
Campaign of Agesilaus in Arcadia.
Xenophon in Corinth.
December: Epaminondas and Pelopidas invade Laconia.
- 369 Unsuccessful siege of Sparta by the Thebans. Epaminondas restores Messenia.
Summer: The Thebans conquer Sicyon.
Alexander of Pherae in Thessaly.
Intervention of Pelopidas in Thessaly and Macedonia.
- 368 'Tearless' Victory of the Spartans at Midea over the Arcadians.
Death of King Alexander II. of Macedon.
- 367 Pelopidas ambassador in Susa. The Thebans conquer Achaia.
Death of Dionysius I. of Syracuse. Dionysius II. Dion.
- 366 Death of Lycomedes.
Timophanes tyrant in Corinth.
- 365 Perdiccas III., king of Macedon.
The Athenians conquer and colonize Samos.
- 364 The victory of Pelopidas over Alexander of Pherae at Cynoscephalae; his death.
Naval demonstration of Epaminondas in the Aegean Sea.
The Thebans destroy Orchomenus. War between the Arcadians and the Eleans.
Timophanes murdered at the instance of Timoleon.
- 362 Unsuccessful campaign of Epaminondas against Sparta.
July 3: Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas.
General peace.
- 361 Attack of Alexander of Pherae upon the Piraeus.
Corcyra falls away from Athens.
- 360 Agesilaus goes to Egypt with mercenary troops.
- 359 Defeat and death of Perdiccas III. of Macedon in the Illyrian war.
Philip II. becomes ruler of Macedon.
- 358 Brilliant victory of Philip over the Paeonians and Illyrians.
Death of Agesilaus. Archidamus III. of Sparta.
- 357 Uprising of Dion against Dionysius II. of Syracuse.
Philip captures Amphipolis.
Summer: Secession of the confederates of Athens.
- 357-355 The Athenian Social War.
- 356 July 21: Alexander the Great born.
- 355 Death of Xenophon. The historians Ephorus, Theopompus, and Philistus.
Peace between Athens and her confederates.
- Revolt of the satraps of Hither Asia against the Achaemenidae.
- 362-361 Rebellion of the Hernici and Tiburtini from Rome.
- Death of Artaxerxes II. Artaxerxes III. Ochus, king of Persia.

B. C.

- 355 Outbreak of the (Second) Sacred War against the Phocians.
 354 Death of Dion.
 Eubulus becomes chief finance minister of Athens.
 Beginning of the political activity of Demosthenes.
 352 Philip defeats the Phocians under Onomarchus in Magnesia, and wins the supremacy in Thessaly.
 349 Philip begins war with Olynthus.
 348 Death of Plato.
 Philip destroys Olynthus and the Chalcidian cities.
 346 Peace of Philocrates between Philip and the Athenians.
 Aeschines the orator.
 Philip subjugates and destroys the Phocian towns for the Amphictyons.
 344 Timoleon of Corinth in Syracuse.
 343 Timoleon restores the commonwealth of Syracuse.
 Aristotle becomes teacher of Alexander.
 342 Victory of Timoleon over the Carthaginians at the Crimissus; peace with the Carthaginians.
 341 Athens and King Philip become hostile. Demosthenes in charge of the Athenian naval administration.
 340 March: Union of the Greeks against Macedon.
 Philip unsuccessfully attacks Perinthus.
 339 Philip's campaigns in the north.
 Outbreak of the (Third) Sacred War of the Amphictyons against Amphissa; Philip occupies Elatea (autumn); afterward destroys Amphissa and occupies Naupactus.
 League between Athens and Thebes against Philip.
 338 Lycurgus becomes chief financial minister in Athens.
 August 2: Battle of Chaeronea.
 Archidamus III. falls in battle at Manthyrion.
 Congress at Corinth; Philip forms a confederacy of the Greeks under Macedonian leadership.
 336 Death of Timoleon. Attalus and Parmenio open the Macedonian war against Persia in Aeolis.
 August: Assassination of Philip. Alexander the Great becomes king; he compels the recognition of his power by the Greeks.
 335 Alexander's campaign on the Danube; insurrection of Thebes and the destruction of Thebes by Alexander.
 334 Spring: Alexander begins his march into Asia against the Persians.
 May: Victory of Alexander at the Granicus.
 Lysippus the sculptor, and Apelles the painter. Aristotle in Athens.
 333 March: Alexander in Gordium.
 November: Victory of Alexander at Issus.
 332 Siege and (August) capture of Tyre.
 November: Storming of Gaza.
 Alexander conquers Egypt; Alexandria founded.
 331 Alexander in the oasis of Siwa.
 October 1: Victory of Alexander at Gaugamela (Arbela). His conquest of Babylon and Susa.
 330 January: Alexander storms the 'Persian Gates' and occupies Persepolis; revolt of the Spartans under Agis against Alexander.
 May: Alexander in Ecbatana.
 June: Defeat of the Spartans at Megalopolis.
 July: Death of Darius III. Alexander in Parthia and on the Caspian Sea.
 August: The speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines On the Crown.
 Lycurgus completes the Dionysiac theatre in Athens; Philon's naval arsenal in the Piræus.
 October: Alexander in Prophthasia; death of Philotas and Parmenio.
- League between the Romans and Samnites.
 348 Commercial treaty between Rome and Carthage.
 343-341 First Samnite War.
 341-338 Great Latin War.
 Arses king of Persia.
 Dissolution of the Latin League.
 Darius III. Codomannus, king of Persia.

B. C.

- 329 April: Alexander crosses the Hindu-Kush mountains and invades Bactria, conquers the Scythians on the Jaxartes.
- 328 Rebellions against Alexander in Sogdiana and Bactria subdued. Death of Clitus.
- 327 Callisthenes. Marriage of Alexander and Roxana. Beginning of the Indian campaign.
- 326 Alexander in the Panjab; he is victorious on the Hydaspes, and begins his retreat at the Hyphasis. 326-304 Second Samnite War.
- 325 Alexander in the Delta of the Indus. March through Gedrosia and Carmania. Nearchus's voyage of exploration in the Indian Ocean.
- 324 Alexander in Susa.
July: Dismissal of Alexander's veterans at Opis.
The Harpalus process in Athens; Demosthenes banished.
- 323 June 11: Death of Alexander the Great at Babylon. The Diadochi or the successors of Alexander. Philip III. Arrhidaeus. Perdiccas becomes administrator of the government; Alexander's empire divided.
Aristotle banished from Athens.
The Lamian War between the Greeks and Antipater of Macedon; Antipater beset by Leosthenes in Lamia.
- 322 Death of Leosthenes; victory of the Greeks at Melitea.
August: Final defeat of the Greeks at Crannon. Fall of the Athenian Democracy.
October: Death of Demosthenes.
Death of Aristotle at Chalcis.
- 321 Victory of Antipater, Antigonus, and Craterus over Eumenes and Perdiccas. Defeat and death of Craterus.
July: Perdiccas at war with Ptolemy in Egypt; he is murdered at Pelusium.
New division of Alexander's empire at Triparadisus; Antipater becomes administrator of the empire. Seleucus in Babylon. Antigonus regent of Asia Minor.
- 319 Death of Antipater. Polysperchon administrator. Revolt of Cassander against Polysperchon.
- 318 Death of Phocion. Cassander subdues Athens. Demetrius of Phalerum becomes governor of Athens. The philosopher Theophrastus, the poets Philemon and Menander (341-291). Protogenes the painter.
- 317 Cassander's conquest of Greece; violent acts of Olympias at Pella.
Agathocles becomes tyrant of Syracuse.
- 316 Death of Eumenes. Cassander secures Macedon. Death of Olympias.
Cassander founds Thessalonica and restores Thebes.
Antigonus and Seleucus become alienated. Coalition of the Diadochi against Antigonus.
- 315-311 War of the Coalition against Antigonus.
- 314 The historian Timaeus (356-260) goes to Athens from Sicily.
- 311 Roxana and her son Alexander murdered by Cassander at Amphipolis.
- 311-305 War of Agathocles of Syracuse with the Carthaginians.
- 308 Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, murdered by Antigonus.
Zeno (340-267) founds the school of the Stoics at Athens.
- 307 Fall of Demetrius of Phalerum. Demetrius Poliorcetes takes possession of Athens.
- 306 War between Antigonus and Ptolemy; victory of Demetrius at Cyprus. Sandrocottus, sovereign of the Panjab.
Antigonus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, Lysimachus of Thrace, and Agathocles of Syracuse, adopt the title of king.
Campaign of Seleucus in India.

- B. C.**
 Epicurus the philosopher in Athens.
 305 Siege of Rhodes by Demetrius.
 304 War between Demetrius and Cassander begins in Greece.
 302 New war of the Coalition of the Diadochi with Antigonus.
 301 Summer: Defeat and death of Antigonus at Ipsus.
 300 Seleucus, king of Syria, marries Demetrius's daughter, and founds the city of Antioch on the Orontes.
 298 Demetrius again in Greece.
 297 Death of Cassander. Philip IV., and after him Antipater, kings of Macedon. Lachares tyrant in Athens. Pyrrhus becomes king in Epirus.
 295? The poet Theocritus born at Syracuse (Cos?).
 294 Demetrius master of Athens.
 293 Demetrius becomes king of Macedon.
 289 Death of Agathocles.
 288 Coalition of Pyrrhus and the Diadochi against Demetrius. The Mamertines in Messana.
 287 Fall of Demetrius. Lysimachus becomes king of Macedon.
 286 Demetrius in Asia Minor.
 285 Ptolemy I. abdicates. Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, king of Egypt (285-247).
 283 Death of Demetrius at Apamea; his son Antigonus Gonatas king in Greece.
 282 Beginning of hostilities between Rome and Tarentum. War between Seleucus and Lysimachus.
 281 Defeat and death of Lysimachus at Corupedium. Seleucus murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus.
 281-261 Antiochus I. king of Syria. Philetaerus of Pergamum.
 280 Pyrrhus supports the Tarentines and wars with the Romans. Liberation of the Achæan cities, Patrae, Dyme, Tritæa, and Pharae. Chrysippus of Soli, the philosopher (280-210).
 279 The Celts overrun the Balkan peninsula and Macedonia. Death of Ptolemy Ceraunus.
 278 Battle between the Celts and Greeks at Thermopylae. Pyrrhus in Sicily. The Aetolian League at its height.
 277 The Celts (Galatians) enter Asia Minor. Antigonus, king of Macedon (277-239), founds the dynasty of the Antigonidae. Pyrrhus subjugates Sicily.
 276 Return of Pyrrhus to Tarentum. Liberation of the Achæan city of Aegium. Rise of the Achæan League.
 275 Pyrrhus defeated by the Romans at Beneventum. Hiero becomes master of Syracuse.
 274 Pyrrhus returns to Epirus.
 273 Pyrrhus drives Antigonus out of Macedon.
 272 Death of Pyrrhus at Argos.
 271 Aratus born (dies 213). Hiero II., victorious over the Mamertines, becomes (269) king of Syracuse (dies 215).
 Tarentum occupied by the Romans.
 266 War of the Seleucidae and Antigonidae against the Lagidae of Egypt. Chremonidean war in Greece against Antigonus.
 265 Victory of the Macedonians over the Egyptians at Cos.
 263-262 Antigonus takes Athens.
 263-240 Eumenes I. king of Pergamum.
 261-247 Antiochus II., king of Syria.
 258 Revolt of the Bactrians against the Seleucidae.
 255 Antigonus destroys the Long Walls of Athens.
 250 Uprising of the Parthians under Arsaces.
 249 Aratus delivers Sicyon and attaches it to the Achæan League.
- 298-290 Third Samnite war.
 295-293 The Samnites defeated.
 284 War of the Etruscans, Senones and Umbrians with Rome.
 War between Rome and the Tarentines and Epirotes.
 First contact of the Romans with the Lagidae of Egypt.
 271 Tarentum surrenders to Rome.
 270 All Italy subject to Rome.
 264-241 First Punic War.
 Defeat and capture of Regulus in Africa.

B. C.

- 247-221 Ptolemy III. Euergetes, in Egypt.
 247-225 Seleucus II., king of Syria.
 247-239 War between the Seleucidae and the Lagidae.
 246 Aratus for the first time at the head of the Achæan League.
 Agis IV. king of Sparta.
 243 Agis IV.'s attempts at reforms.
 242 Aratus takes Corinth.
 241 Agis IV. murdered.
 240-197 Attalus I. king of Pergamum.
 239-229 Demetrius king of Macedon.
 238-235 Federal Republic in Epirus.
 235 Cleomenes III. king of Sparta.
 234 Lydiades attaches Megalopolis to the Achæan League.
 229-228 Great victory of King Attalus I. over the Celts of Galatia.
 229-220 Antigonos Doson regent of Macedon.
 229 Athens delivered from the Macedonian power.
 228 League between Athens and the Romans.
 The Achæan League at its height.
 227 Beginning of the war of the Spartans with the Achæan League.
 226 Revolution in Sparta and the reforms of Cleomenes III.
 225-222 Seleucus III.
 223 Aratus forms an alliance with Antigonos Doson.
 222-187 Antiochus III. king of Syria.
 222 July: Defeat of the Spartans at Sellasia.
 Macedonian-Hellenic League.
 221-205 Ptolemy IV. Philopator, of Egypt.
 220-179 Philip V. king of Macedon. War between the Macedonian-Hellenic League and the Aetolians.
 219 Death of Cleomenes III. in Egypt. Lycurgus last king of Sparta (219-211).
 218 Hannibal assumes command in Spain.
 218-201 Second Punic War.
 218 Hannibal enters Upper Italy. His victories on the Ticinus and Trebia.
 217 Hannibal victorious at Lake Trasimenus.
 217 Peace made between Philip V. and his allies and the Aetolians at Naupactus.

241-238 The Mercenary War in Carthage.

224-222 The Romans subdue Cisalpine Gaul.

220 Hannibal assumes command in Spain.

Capture of Saguntum by Hannibal.

218-201 Second Punic War.

218 Hannibal enters Upper Italy. His victories on the Ticinus and Trebia.

Hannibal victorious at Lake Trasimenus.

ROMAN HISTORY.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE, A. D. 395.

B. C.

- 1100? The Rasennae (Etruscans) enter Upper Italy.
- 800 Foundation of Capua (Vulturnum).
- 753 April 21: Rome founded.
- 753-510 Period of the Roman kings.
- 753-716 Romulus.
- 715-672 Numa Pompilius.
- 672-640 Tullus Hostilius.
- 640-616 Ancus Martius.
- 616-578 Tarquinius Priscus.
- 600 The Celts begin to enter Upper Italy.
- 578-534 Servius Tullius.
- 534-510 Tarquinius Superbus.
- 510-609 Fall of the Tarquins.
- 510- 28 Period of the Roman Republic.
- 507 Porsena of Clusium in power.
- 506 Porsena defeated by Aristodemus of Cyme at Aricia.
- 500 The Etruscans at the height of their power.
- Further advance of the Celts in Upper Italy.
- 496 Battle at Lake Regillus.
- 494 Tribunes of the people in Rome.
- 493 League between Rome and the Latins.
- 486 League between the Romans, Latins, and Hernici.
- Spurius Cassius Viscellinus.
- 483-475 War between Rome and Veii.
- 474 The Etruscans defeated by Hiero I. of Syracuse at Cyme.
- 473 Murder of the tribune Cnaeus Genucius.
- 471 Volero Publilius.
- 462 Rogation of Terentilius Harsa.
- 459 Peace concluded with the western Volsci.
- 451-449 The Decemvirate; Laws of the Twelve Tables; the Valerio-Horatian Laws.
- 449 Victory of M. Horatius over the Sabines.
- 445 Marriage between Patricians and Plebeians legalized (Law of Caius Canuleius). Military tribunate established.
- Appointment of Censors.
- 437-425 War between Rome and Veii.
- The Celts advance south of the Po.
- 424 Capua falls into the hands of the Sabellians.
- 421 The quaestorship open to plebeians.
- 420 Cyme occupied by the Sabellians.
- 405 Last war of the Romans against Veii.
- 400 The Romans occupy Terracina.
- First plebeian consular tribune.
- 396 Conquest of Veii by M. Furius Camillus.
- The Celts conquer the Etruscan Melpum.
- 395-391 The Romans occupy southern Etruria as far as the Ciminian Forest.

B. C.

- 390 Defeat of the Romans on the Allia. Rome taken and burned by the Celts.
- 389 The Volscio-Aequian war of the Romans. Vengeance of the Romans on Tarquinii.
- 384 Execution of M. Manlius Capitolinus.
- 383 Revolts of the Latins against Rome.
- 376-367 Struggle over the rogations of Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius. The praetorship established.
- 367 Victory of Camillus over the Celts at Alba.
- 366 L. Sextius first plebeian consul.
- 365 Death of Camillus.
- 362-361 Rebellion of the Hernici and Tiburtini against Rome.
- 358 League of the Hernici and Latins with Rome renewed.
- 358-351 War of the Romans with Tarquinii and Caere.
- 356 C. Marcius Rutilus first plebeian dictator.
- 354 League between the Romans and Samnites.
- 350 C. Marcius Rutilus first plebeian censor.
- 348 Commercial treaty between Rome and Carthage.
- 345 The Romans occupy Sora on the Liris.
- 343-341 First Samnite War.
- 341-338 Great Latin War.
- 339 Popular laws of Q. Publilius Philo.
- 338 Dissolution of the Latin League.
- 337 Q. Publilius Philo first plebeian praetor.
- 332-330 War, victory, and death of Alexander of Epirus in Lower Italy.
- 326-304 Second Samnite War.
- 321 Gavius Pontius captures the Roman army at the Caudine Forks.
- 312 Appius Claudius, censor, begins the construction of the Appian Way.
- 310 Victory of Q. Fabius Rullianus over the Etruscans at the Vadimonian Lake.
- 309 Victory of Papirius Cursor over the Samnites at Longula.
- 306 Revolt and defeat of the Hernici.
- 304 Defeat of the Aequi.
- Peace established between the Romans and the Samnites and Tarentines.
- Q. Fabius Rullianus censor.
- 298-290 Third Samnite War.
- 295 Defeat of the Samnites and Celts at Sentinum.
- 293 Defeat of the Samnites at Aquilonia.
- 291 The Romans found the colony of Venusia.
- 290 The consul Manius Curius Dentatus makes peace with the Samnites and subdues the Sabines.
- 288 The Mamertines in Messana.
- 286 The Law of C. Maenius and Quintus Hortensius.
- 284 War of the Etruscans, Senones and Umbrians with Rome; defeat of the praetor L. Caecilius Metellus at Arretium.
- 283 Devastation of the land of the Senones by the Romans.
- Defeat of the Boii at the Vadimonian Lake.
- 282 Defeat of the Boii at Populonia.
- Victory of Fabricius over the Lucanians and Bruttii at Thurii.
- 280 War of Tarentum and the Epirotes against Rome.
- Victory of King Pyrrhus of Epirus at Heraclea on the Siris.
- 279 Victory of Pyrrhus at Ausculum in Apulia.
- League between Rome and Carthage.
- 278-276 Pyrrhus in Sicily.
- 275 Victory of M. Curius Dentatus at Maleventum (Beneventum) over King Pyrrhus.
- 273 First contact of the Romans with the Lagidae of Egypt.
- 271 Tarentum surrenders to Rome.
- 270 Rhegium captured. Submission of Italy to Rome.
- 269-268 Introduction of silver coinage in Rome.

- B. C.
- 268 The Romans colonize Ariminum and (267) Brundisium.
- 264-241 First Punic War.
- 264 The Romans occupy Messana.
First appearance of gladiators in Rome.
- 263 League between Rome and Syracuse.
- 262 The Romans subdue Agrigentum.
- 260 Naval victory of C. Duilius at Mylae.
- 256 Naval battle at Ecnomus. Successful campaign of M. Atilius Regulus in Africa.
- 255 Xanthippus. Defeat and capture of Regulus.
- 250 Victory of the Romans under L. Caecilius Metellus at Panormus.
- 247 Hamilcar Barcas in Sicily.
- 241 March 10: Naval victory of C. Lutatius at the Aegates islands. Peace between Rome and Carthage.
Sicily becomes a Roman province.
The Comitia Centuriata reorganized.
- 241-238 The 'Inexpiable War' between Carthage and her mercenaries.
- 240 The Romans appropriate the island of Sardinia.
The poet Livius Andronicus. Representation of the first drama in Rome.
- 238 Beginning of the Roman-Ligurian wars.
- 236 Hamilcar Barcas establishes in Spain the Carthaginian colonial empire.
- 232 C. Flaminius and the Roman colonization of the land of the Senones.
- 229-228 Successes of the Romans in Illyria. First diplomatic negotiations between Rome and Athens.
- 229 (or 228) Death of Hamilcar Barcas. His successor Hasdrubal founds Carthago Nova in Spain.
- 225 Celtic War. Victory of the Romans at Telamon.
- 224-222 The Romans subdue Cisalpine Gaul.
- 220 Hannibal becomes Carthaginian commander in Spain.
The Romans found Mutina, Cremona, and Placentia.
- 219 Second successful war of the Romans in Illyria. Siege and capture of Saguntum by Hannibal.
- 218-201 Second Punic War.
- 218 Revolt of the Boii and Insubres against Rome.
Hannibal marches from Spain into Upper Italy.
Victory of Hannibal on the Ticinus over the elder Scipio.
The Romans subjugate the Spanish territory between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.
Victory of Hannibal on the Trebia.
- 217 Hannibal destroys the army of C. Flaminius on Lake Trasimenus.
Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator dictator.
- 216 Defeat of the Romans at Cannae.
Capua occupied by the Carthaginians.
Victory of the Scipios at Hibera in Spain.
M. Claudius Marcellus successfully defends Nola against the Carthaginians.
- 215 Victories of the Scipios at Illiturgi and Intibili.
Death of Hiero II. of Syracuse. Alliance between Hannibal and Philip V. of Macedon.
- 214 Death of King Hieronymus of Syracuse.
Syracuse submits to the Carthaginians.
- 212 Hannibal occupies Tarentum.
Marcellus occupies and destroys Syracuse.
Defeat of the Scipios in Spain.
Beginning of the siege of Capua by the Romans.
- 211 League of the Romans and the Aetolians against Philip V. of Macedon.
Hannibal before Rome. The Romans take and punish the city of Capua.
- 213 Death of Aratus.

- B. C.
- 210 The Romans in control of Sicily.
Publius Scipio the younger conquers Carthago Nova.
- 209 The Romans recover Tarentum.
- 208 Death of Marcellus.
- 207 Defeat of Hasdrubal on the Metaurus.
- 206 Scipio conquers Spain as far as Gades.
- 205 Peace between the Romans and Philip V.
The Carthaginian Mago lands at Genoa.
The poet Cnaeus Naevius.
- 204 P. Scipio lands in Africa and occupies Utica.
The poet T. Maccius Plautus (between 234 and 184).
- 203 Scipio and Masinissa conquer Syphax. Death of Mago.
Recall of Hannibal from Italy.
- 202 Defeat of Hannibal at Zama.
- 201 March: Peace between Rome and Carthage.
Q. Fabius Pictor, the first Roman annalist.
Extension of the Roman power to the Alps.
Cisalpine Gaul conquered.
- 200-196 War of the Romans with Philip V. of Macedon.
- 197 Revolt of the Iberian tribes in Spain against the Romans.
Victory of T. Quintius Flaminius over the Macedonians at Cynoscephalae.
- 196 Subjugation of the Insubres.
Rome proclaims the freedom of Greece.
The army of Antiochus III. crosses the Hellespont.
The poet Terence (between 196 and 159).
- 195 Victory of M. Porcius Cato over the Spaniards at Tarraco.
Flaminius destroys the power of Nabis of Sparta.
Hannibal takes refuge with Antiochus III. at Ephesus.
- 193-190 War between the Romans and Ligurians.
- 192 Uprising of Nabis against the Romans; his treacherous murder by the Aetolians. Antiochus III. lands in Greece and captures Chalcis.
- 192-189 The Syro-Aetolian war.
- 191-185 The Romans and the Lusitanians at war.
- 191 Complete subjugation of the Boii.
Defeat of Antiochus III. at Thermopylae.
Naval victory of the Romans at Cyssus.
- 190 Naval victory of the Rhodians at Side and of the Romans at Cape Myonnesus.
Victory of the Roman army over the Syrian at Magnesia on Mt. Sipylus.
- 189 Founding of Bononia (Bologna).
Peace between the Romans and Antiochus III.
M. Fulvius Nobilior destroys the Aetolian League. Cn. Manlius Volso subjugates the Galatians of Asia Minor.
- 187 The Via Aemilia built from Ariminum to Placentia.
The processes against the Scipios.
- 186 The decree of the Senate *De Bacchanalibus*.
- Machinadas tyrant in Sparta.
- Philopoemen reorganizes the Achaean cavalry and infantry, is victorious at Mantinea over the Spartans.
- Death of Machinadas.
- Nabis tyrant in Sparta.
- The Aetolians make peace with Philip V.
- 204-181 Ptolemy V. Epiphanes.
- Philip V. and Antiochus III. allied against Egypt.
- Philip V.'s campaigns against the Cyclades and the southern coast of Thrace; he is at war with Rhodes, Pergamum, and Athens.
- 200 Philip destroys Abydos.
- 198 Antiochus III. wins a victory at Panium and concludes peace with the Lagidae.
- 197-159 Eumenes king of Pergamum.
- The Achaean League extends over the whole Peloponnese.
- The Spartans abandon the Achaean League; their frightful punishment by the Achaeans.
- Death of Antiochus III.
- Seleucus IV. king from 187 to 175.

- B. C.
- 184 M. Porcius Cato censor.
- 183 Death of Publius Scipio Africanus.
Death of Hannibal in Bithynia.
- 183-181 Aquileia founded.
- 181 Decisive victory of L. Aemilius Paulus over the Ligurians.
- 180 Law of L. Villius.
- 179-178 Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the elder, governor of
Hither Spain.
- 177 Founding of Luna.
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- 173 The poet Quintus Ennius.
- 172-168 War of the Romans with Perseus of Macedon.
- 171 Perseus's victory at Callicinus.
- 170 Revolt of the Epirotes against the Romans.
- 169 Q. Marcius Philippus enters Macedon.
- 168 Genthius of Scodra, an ally of Perseus, is defeated by L.
Anicius.
The great victory of L. Aemilius Paulus over King
Perseus.
Intervention of the Romans between Antiochus IV. and
the Lagidae.
- 167 Macedonia is divided into four 'republics.'
Cruel treatment of the Epirotes by the Romans.
Persecution of the Macedonian party in Greece by the
Romans. A thousand Achaean patriots transported
to Italy. Humiliation of Eumenes II. and of the
Rhodians.
M. Porcius Cato composes the first Latin historical work
in prose.
- 163 Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus marries Cornelia, daughter
of P. Scipio Africanus.
- 161 The Romans recognize the independence of the Jews.
- 157 The Carthaginians cruelly treated by Masinissa.
M. Porcius Cato urges the destruction of Carthage.
- 154-153 New struggles in Spain between the Romans and the Lu-
sitani, Vettones, Belli, Titteres, and Arevaci.
- 151 War between Carthage and King Masinissa.
- 150 The Achaean prisoners sent home. Servius Sulpicius
Galba treacherously slays seven thousand Lusitanians.
- 149 The Romans determine to destroy Carthage.
Death of M. Porcius Cato.
Revolt of the pseudo-Philip (or Andrisicus) in Macedonia
against the Romans.
Introduction of the court *De Repetundis* in Rome.
- 148 Q. Caecilius Metellus assumes charge of the war in Mac-
edonia.
- 147 Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus becomes the com-
mander-in-chief against the Carthaginians.
Macedonia subjugated. L. Aurelius Orestes Roman am-
bassador in Corinth.
- Humiliation of the
Achaean League
by the Roman
senate.
Philopoemen is put
to death at Mes-
sene.
- 181-146 Ptolemy
VII. Philometor.
Treacherous mis-
sion of the Ach-
aeon ambassador
Callicrates in
Rome.
- 179-168 Perseus,
king of Macedon.
- 175-139 Mithra-
dates I., Parthian
king; establish-
ment of the Par-
thian Empire.
- 174-164 Antiochus
IV. Epiphanes.
- Polybius, hipparch
of the Achaean
League.
Revolt of the Jews
under the Macca-
bees against the
Seleucidae.
- 158-138 Attalus II.
king of Perga-
num.
- 156 The Athenians
ravage Oropus.
- 155 An Athenian
embassy in Rome.
- 150 Renewed strife
between Athens
and Oropus.
- Death of the Nu-
midian King Ma-
sinissa. Micipsa
succeeds him.
- 148 Quarrel in the
Achaean League
between Diaeus
and the Spartans.
War between the
Achaean and
the Spartans.

B. C.

- The Romans and the Achaeans break off diplomatic relations.
- 146 The Romans capture and destroy Carthage. They establish the new province of 'Africa.'
- War between the Romans and Achaeans. Victory of Metellus at Scarphe and of L. Mummius on the Isthmus of Corinth over the Achaeans. The Achaean League is dissolved, and Corinth destroyed. The historian Polybius active in the Peloponnese on behalf of the Romans.
- Macedonia becomes a province of Rome. Achaia is placed under the supervision of the governor of Macedonia.
- Successful revolt of the Lusitanians. Viriathus against the Romans.
- 144 Celtiberian war. Numantia.
- 143 Outbreak of the great Servile War in Sicily.
- 142 A Roman criminal judge bribed for the first time.
- 139 Introduction of the secret ballot at elections. Murder of Viriathus.
- 138-133 Attalus III., king of Pergamum.
- 138 Decimus Junius Brutus subjugates the Lusitanians and Gallaecians of Spain.
- 137 Defeat of C. Hostilius Mancinus at Numantia.
- 134 Scipio Aemilianus becomes commander-in-chief against Numantia.
- 133 Reforms, revolution, and fall of the younger Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.
- The Romans capture Numantia.
- Revolt of Aristonicus in Pergamum against the Romans.
- 132 End of the Sicilian Servile War.
- 131 Beginning of the Pergamene War.
- 130 January: Defeat of P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus at Lucae. M. Perpenna defeats Aristonicus.
- 129 Close of the Pergamene War. The new province of 'Asia' established.
- Death of Scipio Aemilianus.
- 125 M. Fulvius Flaccus begins Roman conquest in Transalpine Gaul.
- Revolt and destruction of the city of Fregellae.
- 123 C. Gracchus tribune of the people; his democratic legislation, and his struggle with the senate and the Optimates.
- 121 The Romans victorious over the Allobroges and Arverni on the Isère and at Vindalium. Establishment of the province of Gallia Narbonensis.
- Founding of Aquae Sextiae and Narbo.
- Fall of Caius Gracchus.
- 119 Law of Spurius Thorius.
- 115 Birth of M. Licinius Crassus.
- 114 Defeat of C. Porcius Cato in war with the Scordisci.
- 113 Cn. Papirius Carbo defeated by the Cimbri at Noreia.
- 146-117 Ptolemy IX. Physcon.
- 142-138 The Jewish state in Asia is absolutely independent.
- 140 The historical work of Polybius.
- Attalus III. king of Pergamum.
- Attalus leaves his kingdom to Rome.
- 128 Victory of the Parthians over the Seleucid Antiochus VII. Sides.
- Death of King Mithradates V. of Pontus. Mithradates VI. Eupator, the Great.
- 118 Death of the Numidian king Micipsa.
- Hiempsal, Adherbal and Jugurtha; their united reign and subsequent alienation.
- 117 Ptolemy X.

B. C.

- 111 M. Livius Drusus defeats the Scordisci and reaches the Danube.
Campaign of L. Calpurnius Bestia against Jugurtha.
- 110 M. Minucius defeats the Scordisci. Campaign of Spurius Postumius Albinus against Jugurtha. Defeat of his brother Aulus Postumius.
- 109 War of Q. Caecilius Metellus with Jugurtha.
M. Junius Silanus defeated by the Cimbri in Gaul.
- 107 Caius Marius, consul, opens the Roman army to proletarians, and assumes command in Numidia.
L. Cassius Longinus defeated on the Garonne by the Helvetii.
- 106 Marcus Tullius Cicero born, Jan. 3.
Cn. Pompeius born, Sept. 29.
- 105 L. Cornelius Sulla captures Jugurtha.
Oct. 6: Great defeat of the Romans in battle with the Cimbri at Arausio.
- 104 Servile War in Sicily (until 100).
- 103 The Romans establish the new province of Cilicia.
The satiric poet C. Lucilius (148-103).
- 102 Caius Marius defeats the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae.
Caius Julius Caesar born, July 12.
- 101 C. Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus defeat the Cimbri at Vercellae.
- 100 C. Marius consul for the sixth time. The demagogy and death (Dec. 10) of Appuleius Saturninus and of C. Servilius Glaucia.
- 98 Law of Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos and of T. Didius.
- 96 Ptolemy Apion leaves Cyrene to the Romans in his will.
- 91 M. Lucius Drusus tribune of the people; his attempts at reform and his assassination. Outbreak of the revolt of the Italians against Rome at Asculum.
- 90 The Social War of the Italians against the Romans.
- 89 Propositions of the consul L. Julius Caesar and the tribunes M. Plautius Silvanus and Caius Papirius Carbo, looking to the admission of the Italians to Roman citizenship.
Close of the Social War.
- 88 Revolution of the tribune Publius Sulpicius Rufus. The consul Lucius Cornelius Sulla conducts his army from Campania to the Tiber, storms Rome, and banishes Sulpicius and Caius Marius.
- 87 Street conflicts in Rome; the democratic consul L. Cornelius Cinna deprived of office by Cn. Octavius.
Sulla besieges in Greece the fortresses of Athens and the Piraeus.
The Roman-Italian democracy rises. Cinna, Marius and Sertorius invest Rome. Victory and violence of the democrats.
- 86 Seventh consulate and death (Jan. 13) of Caius Marius.
Sulla (March 1) takes Athens by storm, destroys the Piraeus, and is victorious at Chaeronea.
Titus Pomponius Atticus in Athens. 86-85.
The orator Q. Hortensius Hortulus flourishes.
- 85 Great victory of Sulla over the Pontic troops at Orchomenus.
Victory of Fimbria over the Pontic troops on the Rhyn-dacus and his violence in Asia.
- 84 Sulla in Asia; peace with Mithradates the Great at Dardanus. Fall of Fimbria.
- 112 Jugurtha's cruelties in Cirta; death of Adherbal.
- Death of the Seleucid Antiochus VIII. Grypus.
- 94 Tigranes II. king of Armenia.
- 93 Beginning of the hostility of the Romans and Mithradates the Great of Pontus.
- Mithradates the Great successfully opens his war with the Romans; murders the Romans and Italians in Asia. Greece falls away from the Romans.

B. C.

- 83 Sulla lands at Brundisium, and begins war with the Roman-Italian democracy. He is victorious over Caius Norbanus at Mt. Tifata and overreaches Lucius Scipio. Murena renews the attack upon Mithradates the Great.
- 82 Battles at Praeneste, in Etruria, and in Umbria. Defeat (Nov. 1) of the Samnites, Lucanians, and democrats at Rome. Sulla becomes dictator, and introduces his oligarchic constitution in Rome. Murena defeated by the Pontic forces on the Halys.
- 81 Sulla's cruel proscriptions; restoration of peace in Asia.
- 80 Beginning of the conflict of Sertorius in Spain with the Sullan constitution.
- 79 Sulla abdicates the dictatorship.
- 78 Death of Sulla.
- 78-74 Isaurian war of P. Servilius Vatia.
- 77 M. Aemilius Lepidus's attempts at revolution and his death. Cnaeus Pompey goes to Spain to subdue Sertorius.
- 74 Bithynia comes into possession of Rome. Beginning of the third war of Mithradates the Great against the Romans. Siege of Cyzicus. Cyrene is organized as a Roman province.
- 73 Lucius Lucullus is victorious over the Pontic fleet and enters the Pontic territory. Revolt and war of gladiators and slaves under Spartacus near Italy.
- 72 Death of Sertorius; end of the Spanish war. Mithradates, defeated at Cabira, flees into Armenia.
- 71 M. Licinius Crassus closes the Italian Servile War.
- 70 First consulate of Cnaeus Pompey and M. Crassus. Cicero's prosecution of Verres.
- 69 L. Lucullus opens the war against Tigranes II. of Armenia, and is completely victorious (Oct. 6) at Tigranocerta.
- 68 Q. Caecilius Metellus subjugates the island of Crete. L. Lucullus in Armenia; his retreat to Nisibis.
- 67 Victorious campaign of Cn. Pompey against the pirates. Mithradates defeats the Roman Triarius at Zela. L. Lucullus deprived of his command.
- 66 *Lex Manilia*. Pompey receives the supreme command against Mithradates; defeats the latter at Nicopolis on the Lycus; forces Tigranes II. to ask peace; reduces the latter to a Roman vassal, and fights with the Albanians in the Caucasus.
- 65 Pompey conquers the Caucasian Iberians, and marches through the valley of the Phasis.
- 64 Pompey makes Syria a Roman province.
- 63 He besieges and takes by storm the temple at Jerusalem. M. Tullius Cicero, consul. Catiline's conspiracy. Victory over the conspirators in Rome. Birth of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and (on Sept. 23) of Caius Octavius.
- 62 Defeat and death of Catiline at Pistoria. Pompey returns from Asia to Brundisium.
- 61 Caius Julius Caesar, proprætor in Farther Spain. Triumph of Pompey, Sept. 29, 30, in Rome.
- 60 Compact between Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey,—First Triumvirate.
- 59 Consulate of Julius Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
- 58 Cicero banished from Rome through Publius Clodius Pulcher. M. Porcius Cato annexes Cyprus as Roman territory. Julius Caesar, proconsul of Illyria, of the Cisalpine province, and of Gallia Narbonensis, conquers the Helveti at Bibracte, subdues in Upper Alsace the troops of Ariovistus, and makes the people of Gaul between the Garonne and the Seine subject to Rome.
- 83-74 Tigranes II. of Armenia conquers Syria and Cilicia.
- Death of Ptolemy X.; Ptolemy XI., Ptolemy XII., and Ptolemy XIII. Auletes or Neus Dionysus.
- Death of King Nicomedes III. of Bithynia.
- The Sequani in Gaul ally themselves with the German king Ariovistus against the Haedui.
- The Dacian king Burvista in power.
- 65 Conflict in Jerusalem between the high priest Hyrcanus and his brother Aristobulus. Mithradates in Panticapæum.
- 63 Death of Mithradates the Great.
- Ariovistus defeats the Haedui at Admagetobriga.
- Ariovistus styled by the senate the "friend of the Roman people." Inroad of the Helvetii from Switzerland into the interior of Gaul.

B. C.

- 57 Caesar subdues also the Celtic tribes in Belgium.
Cicero recalled to Rome.
Pompey receives proconsular power for five years.
- 56 April : Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey hold an important conference at Luca.
Rising of the Veneti against the Romans and their complete subjugation. Publius Crassus subdues the Aquitani.
- 55 Subjection of the Usipetes and the Tencteri on the Lower Rhine. Caesar crosses the Rhine; League with the Ubii. Caesar attempts an inroad into Britain.
The poet Titus Lucretius Caius, 99-55.
The poet Q. Valerius Catullus, 87-54.
- 54 Campaign of Caesar in Britain; the Romans cross the Thames.
Pompey assumes for five years the government of the Spanish provinces.
M. Licinius Crassus opens the war with the Parthians.
- 53 Revolt of the Belgic tribes against Caesar, and their subjugation. Caesar crosses the Rhine for the second time.
Crassus defeated at Carrhae and Sinnaca, June 9.
- 52 Death of the demagogue Clodius, Jan. 13. Pompey, sole consul, begins to break with Caesar.
General uprising of Gaul under Vercingetorix against Caesar. Siege of Alesia, and second subjugation of the Celts.
- 51 Enemies of Caesar active in the senate against him.
- 49 Open breach with Caesar (Jan. 7): Pompey becomes the commander-in-chief for the senate.
Caesar crosses the Rubicon (Jan. 12), and conquers all Italy.
Pompey (on March 17) leaves Brundisium for Epirus with his last troops.
Headquarters of the Optimates and Pompeians at Thessalonica. Caesar forces (Aug. 2) the Spanish legions of Pompey on the Ebro to submit, and captures the city of Massalia. Defeat (in September) of Caesar's adherents under Curio in Africa, and under Caius Antonius at Curicta.
Pompey establishes himself at Dyrrhachium.
Caesar lands (Nov. 5) with a portion of his army at Palessa.
- 48 Mark Antony conducts Caesar's main army to Lissus, and unites with Caesar. The battle at Dyrrhachium. Caesar is defeated at Petra, and retires into Thessaly. His great victory over Pompey at Pharsalus (Aug. 9).
Pompey murdered on the Egyptian coast, Sept. 28.
Caesar arrives in Alexandria; outbreak of the Alexandrine war.
Victory of the Pontic king Pharnaces over the Romans under Cn. Domitius Calvinus at Nicopolis.
- 47 March : Complete victory of Caesar over the Alexandrines. Aug. 2 : Victory of Caesar over Pharnaces at Zela.
September : Caesar in Rome. Suppression of the great mutiny of the troops in Campania.
Oct. 8 : Caesar departs for Africa.
- 46 April 6 : Complete defeat of the Optimates and Pompeians at Thapsus; death of Cato at Utica. Caesar assumes the dictatorship for ten years.
The historian C. Sallustius Crispus : 86-35.
The antiquary M. Terentius Varro : 116-27.
- 45 Jan. 1 : Introduction of the new Julian Calendar.
Caesar adopts the title of imperator for life.
March 17 : Defeat of the Pompeians and republicans at Munda in Spain.
- Death of Ptolemy XIII. Auletes; Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy XIV. Dionysus.
- Death of Ptolemy XIV.

B. C.

- Caesar's municipal laws.
- 44 Caesar appointed dictator for life; he founds the new colonies of Carthage and Corinth.
 March 15: Caesar assassinated.
 March 17: Mark Antony comes to an understanding with the murderers of Caesar. Caesar's funeral.
 The young Caesar Octavianus becomes prominent.
 Autumn: Cicero's 'Philippic orations' against Antony.
 December: Mark Antony begins the struggle with Decimus Brutus for the possession of upper Italy.
 Mutinensian war. Marcus Brutus arouses the Greeks to struggle for the Roman republic.
- 43 Marcus Brutus occupies Macedonia and Caius Cassius Syria for the republicans.
 Mark Antony defeated, April 27, by Octavian and A. Hirtius at Mutina; departs for Gaul.
 L. Munatius Plancus founds the colonies of Raurica and Lugdunum in Gaul.
 Mark Antony attaches to himself in Gaul the legates Lepidus (May 29), Asinius Pollio (September), and Plancus.
 Death of Decimus Brutus.
 Octavian obtains through the senate the consulate (August).
 Oct. 27-29: Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian form a triumvirate for the restoration of the state. The proscriptions of the triumviri bring bloodshed throughout all Italy (Nov. 27 and afterward). Cicero murdered, Dec. 7.
 Brutus and Cassius unite at Smyrna in the autumn, and conquer the Lycians and Rhodians, who were attached to Caesar's cause.
- 42 Divine honors paid to Caesar as Divus Julius.
 Brutus and Cassius together in Sardis.
 War between the republicans under Brutus and Cassius and the party of Caesar under Octavian and Mark Antony.
 Autumn: The two battles at Philippi, defeat of the republicans, death of Cassius and Brutus.
 Antony in Athens. Octavian establishes the victorious veterans in Italy at the expense of the earlier inhabitants.
 The Cisalpine province comes to an end and is incorporated with Italy.
- 41 Antony at Tarsus; he follows Queen Cleopatra to Alexandria.
 Summer: The brother and the wife of Mark Antony (Lucius and Fulvia) kindle in Italy civil war against Octavian.
 The Perusinian war.
 The Parthians, under Pacorus and Labienus, enter Cilicia.
- 40 Spring: Perusia surrenders to Octavian.
 The Parthians capture Antioch, and occupy Asia Minor as far as Caria and Ionia.
 Summer: New compact at Brundisium between Antony and Octavian. Marriage of Antony and Octavia.
 The Parthians conquer Phoenicia and Judaea.
- 39 Summer: Treaty of peace of the triumvirs at Misenum with Sextus Pompey, who receives Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.
 P. Ventidius, Mark Antony's legate, drives the Parthians out of Asia Minor, Cilicia, and Syria.
 Mark Antony, with Octavia, at Athens.
- 38 Octavian marries Livia Drusilla.
 M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Octavian's legate in Gaul, crosses the Rhine, and settles the Ubii upon the left bank of the Rhine.
 June 9: Great victory of P. Ventidius over the Parthians at Gindarus.
 Beginning of the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompey.

The Jewish high priest Hyrcanus transported to Babylon. Antigonus becomes king in Judaea.

Herod the Great becomes king of Judaea.

- B. C.
- 36 Octavian, Agrippa, and Lepidus at war with Sextus Pompey.
Naval defeat of the latter (Sept. 3) at Naulochus. Octavian compels Lepidus to withdraw into private life.
Octavian receives from the senate the tribunician power, and becomes *sacrosanctus*.
Summer: Antony begins in Armenia the war against Atropatene and the Parthians.
- 35 Winter: Retreat of Antony with losses.
Death of Sextus Pompey in Asia Minor.
- 35-33 Octavian, Agrippa, and Statilius Taurus conquer northern Dalmatia and southern Pannonia.
- 34 Antony subdues Armenia. His passion for Cleopatra causes him to bestow upon her and her children important political concessions.
Octavian makes Tergeste and Pola colonies.
- 33 Agrippa in Rome introduces a system of waterworks as *ædile*.
Hostility between Octavian and Antony begins.
Antony and Cleopatra make Ephesus their headquarters, and in winter go to Athens.
- 32 Antony is divorced from his wife Octavia.
At Octavian's demand the senate declares war against Queen Cleopatra.
Antony occupies the western coast of Greece.
- 31 Spring: Octavian leads his forces into southern Epirus.
Sept. 2: Victory of Octavian over the fleet of Mark Antony, who, with Cleopatra, flees to Egypt.
- 30-29 Successful war of the Macedonian proconsul M. Licinius against the Dacians, Thracians, and Moesians.
- 30 Octavian founds the city of Actia-Nicopolis, and advances into Egypt by way of Syria. Battles before Alexandria.
Defeat of Antony (Aug. 1); his death.
Octavian unites the kingdom of the Lagidae with the Roman empire by a personal union.
- 29 The historian and geographer Strabo visits Rome; born 68 B. C., dies 24 A. D.
Octavian, Aug. 13-15, celebrates his triumph in Rome.
The temple of Janus closed. Dedication of the temple of Divus Julius.
- 29-28 Octavian and Agrippa complete the census. Enumeration of all Roman citizens. Octavian proclaimed by the senate *Princeps Senatus*.
- 27 B.C.-395 A.D. Period of the Roman Empire.
- 27 Octavian establishes the Principate; his compact with the senate, Jan. 13. The provinces allotted either to the senate or to the emperor.
Octavian, Jan. 16, receives the title of Augustus, and introduces a complete census of the provinces.
Agrippa opens the aqueduct Aqua Virgo, June 9.
Achaia is established as an independent province, co-ordinate with Macedonia. Octavian organizes the administration of the provinces of Gaul. War in Spain with the Cantabri and Astures.
- 25 Agrippa completes the construction of the Pantheon.
Subjugation of the Cantabri and Astures.
Annihilation of the Salassi.
- 24 Campaign of the Egyptian governor C. Aelius Gallus in Arabia.
Irruption of the Nubians into Upper Egypt.
- 23 Octavian receives, June 27, the tribunician power for life, and supreme authority as governor in the senatorial provinces.
Death of M. Claudius Marcellus.
- 37 Phraates IV. king of the Parthians.
- Herod I. of Judaea supports Octavian.
Death of Cleopatra.
The Parthians obtain control in Armenia.

- B. C.
- 22 Successful war of C. Petronius against the Nubians.
- 22-19 Octavian inspects the eastern provinces.
- 21 Agrippa marries Julia, Octavian's daughter.
- 20 Octavian takes charge of the great Italian military roads
Return by the Parthians of the Roman eagles and of prisoners taken in 53 B. C.
- 19 Death of the poets Publius Vergilius Maro—born 70—
and Tibullus—born 54.
Survey of the empire completed.
Agrippa finally subdues the tribes of northern Spain.
- 18 *Lex Julia De Adulteriis*.
Agrippa receives the tribunician power for five years.
Death of the poet Propertius, born 49.
- 17 Agrippa assumes charge of the Orient.
- 16 Inroads of the Pannonians, Taurisci, Rhaeti, and Germans
into the empire. Victory of the Sugambri in Belgium
over M. Lollius Paullinus.
- 15 The emperor assumes the right of minting gold and silver
coins, the senate that of copper coins.
Octavian's step-sons, Tiberius and Drusus, conquer Rhaetia
and Vindelicia. The Romans annex Noricum.
- 14 Division of Italy into eleven 'regions.'
Founding of the colonies of Patrae in Achaia and of Berytus in Phoenicia.
- 13 Agrippa assumes command in the war in Pannonia. Drusus Roman governor in Gaul.
- 12 Death of Lepidus. Octavian becomes pontifex maximus.
Death of Agrippa.
- 12-9 Tiberius subjugates the Pannonians and Dalmatians.
- 12 Naval expedition of Drusus to the coasts of lower Germany.
- 11 Octavian assumes the control of the Roman system of water-works and the direction of the architecture in Rome.
Drusus penetrates as far as the Weser, conquers the Cherusci and Sugambri, and builds the fortress of Aliso.
- 10 Fortifications of Drusus along the Rhine.
- 9 Drusus penetrates as far as the Saale and Elbe. His death.
The historian Titus Livius: 59 B.C.—17 A.D.
- 8 Octavian divides Rome into fourteen 'regions.'
Death of Maecenas and the poet Q. Horatius Flaccus (born 65).
Tiberius subjugates the tribes of western Germany.
- 7 Dionysius of Halicarnassus completes his Roman History.
A plan of the world exhibited in Rome.
- 6 Tiberius retires to Rhodes.
- 2 Fall and banishment of Julia, Octavian's daughter. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus reaches, by way of Vindelicia, the right bank of the Elbe.
- 1 Caius Caesar, entrusted with the control of the Orient, makes a satisfactory treaty with the Parthians.
- A. D.
- 2 Tiberius returns to Rome.
Death of Lucius Caesar.
- 3 Imperial palace upon the Palatine reconstructed.
- 4 Caius Caesar dies in Lycia, Feb. 1.
Octavian, June 27, adopts Tiberius (born Nov. 16, B.C. 43)
and Tiberius adopts Drusus's son Germanicus.
Tiberius crosses the Weser.
- 5 Germanicus marries Agrippina, Agrippa's daughter.
The army and fleet of Tiberius reach the lower Elbe.
- 6 Octavian establishes the system of fire control in Rome and the military treasury. Introduction of an inheritance tax.
- Tigranes III. king of Armenia.
- Phraates V. (Phraataces), king of the Parthians.
- 9 Marbod, chief of the Marcomanni, establishes a great kingdom in what is now Bohemia.
- 4 Death of Herod the Great of Judaea.
- Ariobarzanes II. (of Atropatene) king of Armenia.
- Vonones I. king of the Parthians.

- A. D.
- Tiberius opens the war against King Marbod. Great revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Peace with Marbod.
- 7 Pannonian-Dalmatian war.
Publius Quinctilius Varus becomes governor in Germany.
- 8 Pannonia permanently subjugated by Tiberius.
- 9 Introduction of the *Lex Papia-Poppaea*.
The poet P. Ovidius Naso (born 43 B.C.) banished to Tomi, where he dies A.D. 17.
Dalmatia permanently subjugated.
Arminius the Cheruscan destroys in September the army of Varus in the Teutoburgerwald.
Tiberius receives the tribunician power for life.
- 10 Tiberius assumes command on the Rhine.
- 11 Tiberius and Germanicus on the Rhine.
- 12 Death of the jurist M. Antistius Labeo, born 59 B.C.
- 13 Germanicus receives the command in Gaul and on the Rhine, Tiberius (with Octavian) the proconsular power in all the provinces.
- 14 Aug. 19: Death of Octavian at Nola; his apotheosis.
- 14-37 Tiberius emperor.
September: Revolt of the legions in Pannonia subdued by the emperor's son Drusus, and on the Rhine subdued by Germanicus.
Campaign of Germanicus against the Marsi.
Germanicus captures Thusnelda, the wife of Arminius.
Campaign against the Cherusci.
Tiberius establishes the office of city prefect in Rome.
- 16 Germanicus reaches the Weser; his victories at Idistavium and on Lake Steinbuder.
- 17 May 26: Triumph of Germanicus in Rome.
The Romans annex Cappadocia.
- 17-24 War with Tacfarinas in Numidia.
- 18 Germanicus receives charge of the Orient and makes a treaty with the Parthians.
- 19 L. Aelius Sejanus becomes prefect of the imperial guard.
Journey of Germanicus through Egypt. His death, Oct. 10, at Daphne near Antioch.
- 20 Indictment of Cn. Calpurnius Piso and his suicide.
- 21 C. Silius subdues a revolt of the tribes in Central Gaul under Sacrovir.
- 22 Death of the jurist C. Ateius Capito, born 34 B.C.
- 23 All the praetorians brought together in Rome and their fortified camp there constructed.
Sejanus poisons Tiberius's son Drusus.
- 25 Death of the historian Cremutius Cordus.
- 26 Tiberius leaves Rome. Sejanus saves his life at Tarracina.
- 27 Tiberius takes up his permanent residence at Capri.
- 29 Death of the emperor's mother, Livia. The widow of Germanicus, Agrippina, banished to Panataria. Her elder son Nero sent to Pontia and her younger son Drusus put into confinement.
- 30 Velleius Paterculus composes his Roman History.
- 31 Conspiracy against Tiberius by Sejanus.
Fall and execution of Sejanus, Oct. 18, and severe punishment of his followers. Death of the younger Nero at Pontia.
- 33 Death of Drusus, Oct. 19; suicide of Agrippina.
- 35 Attack of the Parthian king, Artabanus.
- 36 Artabanus defeated by Lucius Vitellius.
- 37 Death of Tiberius, March 16.
- 37-41 Caius (or Caligula) emperor (born 12 B.C.).
- Artabanus III. king of the Parthians.
- War between Marbod and Arminius.
- Fall of Marbod through Catualda. Artaxias, king of Armenia.
- Marbod in Ravenna. Fall of Catualda.
- Vannius ruler of the Quadi.
- Death of Arminius.
- 34 Death of Artaxias of Armenia.

- A. D.
- 37 Accession and universal popularity of the emperor Caius. King Herod Agrippa I. of Judaea.
- 38 Caius becomes a cruel and violent tyrant.
- 39 The emperor in Gaul and on the Rhine.
- 40 Campaign against Britain begun. Caius introduces universally the cult of himself as a god. Death of King Ptolemy of Mauretania.
- 41 Caius is murdered (Jan. 24) by Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus on the Palatine.
- 41-54 Claudius emperor (Tiberius Claudius Nero, born 10 B. C.).
- 41 The Mauretanian War.
- 42 Mauretania becomes a Roman province.
- 43 Aulus Plautius and Emperor Claudius begin the conquest of Britain.
- 46 Completion of the harbor of Portus Romanus.
- Plutarch of Chaeronea born.
- 47 P. Ostorius Scapula goes as legate to Britain.
- 48 Claudius conducts a census. A new enumeration of the Roman people.
- The decurions in the cities of the Haedui receive the *Jus Honorum*.
- Execution of the empress Messalina (October).
- 49 Claudius marries his niece, Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus.
- L. Annaeus Seneca, born 4 B. C., becomes teacher of Lucius Domitius, born 37 A. D., son of Agrippina by her first marriage.
- 50 Claudius adopts, Feb. 25, Lucius Domitius as Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.
- 51 Nero receives the secondary proconsular power. Afranius Burrus becomes prefect of the imperial guard. Scapula conquers the British prince Caractacus.
- 52 Completion of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus. Opening of the outlet of Lake Fucinus into the Liris.
- 53 Nero marries Octavia, daughter of Claudius. Apollonius of Tyana, philosopher and magician. St. Paul visits the Balkan peninsula.
- 54 Agrippina poisons Claudius, Oct. 12-13. P. Cornelius Tacitus, the historian, born.
- 54-68 Nero emperor.
- 55 Cn. Domitius Corbulo, governor in Galatia and Cappadocia.
- 55 Death of Britannicus (son of Claudius).
- 58 Corbulo opens the war in Armenia. Nero's marriage with Poppaea Sabina.
- 59 Murder, March 19, of Agrippina, Nero's mother.
- 60 Corbulo destroys Artaxata and captures Tigranocerta. Depreciation of the Roman silver denarius. Beginning of the use of the gold standard in Rome.
- Suetonius Paullinus conquers the island of Anglesey (Mona). Revolt in Britain under Queen Boadicea. She is conquered by Paullinus at Camulodunum.
- 62 L. Caesennius Paetus, governor of Cappadocia, forced to a disgraceful capitulation by the Parthians. Corbulo becomes commander-in-chief of the Roman armies in the Orient.
- Death of Burrus. Seneca retires into private life.
- Sofonius Tigellinus becomes prefect of the guard. Murder of the young Empress Octavia, June 9.
- Death of A. Persius the satiric poet: born 34.
- 63 Corbulo subdues Armenia and forces Tiridates to make peace.
- 64 July: Destruction of the greater part of Rome by fire.
- 65 April: Discovery and punishment of the conspiracy of Piso. Death of the poet M. Annaeus Lucanus: born 39. Death of Seneca and of the satirist Petronius Arbiter.
- 66 Tiridates receives from Nero in Rome the crown of Armenia.
- Vologases I. king of the Parthians.
- Vologases creates his brother Tiridates king of Armenia.

A. D.

- 66 Death of Thræsea Paetus and of Barea Soranus.
 Summer : Nero visits Achaia as an artist.
 August : Revolt of the Jews in Jerusalem. Outbreak of the Jewish War.
 November ; Defeat of the Syrian legate Cestius Gallus before Jerusalem.
- 67 Death of Domitius Corbulo.
 Licinius Mucianus legate in Syria.
 Titus Flavius Vespasian (born Nov. 18, 9 A.D.) receives command against the Jews and captures Jotapata.
 Nero declares Achaia free.
- 68 Nero's return from Achaia to Naples and Rome.
 March : Revolt of Julius Vindex in Gaul against Nero.
 April : The Spanish legate Servius Sulpicius Galba (born B.C. 5) rises against Nero.
 May : Destruction of the Gallic army of Vindex by the Rhine legions in the battle of Vesontio.
 Vespasian captures Jericho.
 Nymphidius Sabinus and the praetorian guard in Rome declare for Galba.
 July 9 : Death of Nero.
- 68-69 The year of the four emperors.
 July : The emperor Galba leaves Spain for Rome.
 September : Death of Nymphidius Sabinus.
 October : Arrival of Galba in Rome.
 November : Aulus Vitellius (born 15 A.D.) legate in Lower Germany.
- 69 January : The armies on the Rhine abandon Galba and declare for Vitellius.
 Jan. 15 : Galba murdered in Rome and M. Salvius Otho (born 32 A.D.) proclaimed emperor by the praetorians.
 The adherents of Vitellius, under Allienus Caecina and Fabius Valens, reach Upper Italy (March). Battle at Bedriacum. Otho, April 16, commits suicide.
 July 1-15 : Declaration of the armies in Egypt, Judaea, and Syria for Vespasian.
 July : Vitellius enters Rome.
 The Illyrian legions declare for Vespasian.
 Autumn : Antonius Primus advances from Pettau as far as the Adige.
 Revolt of the Batavi under Claudius Civilis against Vitellius ; a war between the Romans and the Germans breaks out on the lower Rhine.
 October : Defeat of the Vitellians at Cremona. Destruction of the city.
 December : The Vitellians at Narnia attach themselves to Antonius Primus.
 Dec. 18 : Vitellius abdicates in Rome.
 Dec. 19 : The mob and the praetorian guard storm the Capitol in Rome, and murder Vespasian's brother, the city prefect Flavius Sabinus. The Capitol is burned.
 Dec. 20 : The Flavian army storms Rome ; death of Vitellius.
 Dec. 21 : The Senate confers imperial power upon Vespasian.
 War of Civilis with the Romans.
- 70 Spring : Revolt of the Celtic auxiliaries on the Rhine. The Treviri and the Lingones. The army on the Rhine goes over to the Celts.
 April : The Caesar Titus (born 40 A.D.) begins the siege of Jerusalem.
 Petilius Cerialis marches against the Celts and Batavi, captures Treves, and defeats Civilis on the Moselle.
 Titus takes the Temple of Jerusalem by storm (Aug. 10) and on Sept. 10 the Upper City.

- A. D.
- The Emperor Vespasian enters Rome.
Petilius Cerialis defeats Civilis at Vetera, and establishes peace with the Batavi.
- 70-96 The Flavian emperors.
The Emperor Vespasian reorganizes the empire.
Cerialis begins in Britain a war against the Brigantes.
- 72 The kingdom of Commagene is annexed.
- 73-74 Achaia becomes again a Roman province. Rhodes, Samos, Byzantium, Lycia, assigned each to the nearest Roman province.
- 74 Sextus Julius Frontinus, legate in Britain, subdues the Silures.
- 75 Vespasian begins the construction of the Colosseum in Rome.
- 78 Cn. Julius Agricola, legate in Britain, subdues the Ordovices, occupies Anglesey, builds fortifications at Eboracum (York).
- 79 Death of Vespasian (June 23). The Caesar Titus becomes emperor.
Aug. 24: Eruption of Vesuvius, death of Pliny the Elder (born 23 A.D.).
Destruction of the cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae.
- 80 Julius Agricola's campaigns in Scotland. He penetrates to the Firth of Tay.
- 81 Sept. 13: Death of Titus. The Caesar Domitian (born 51 A.D.) becomes emperor.
- 83 Domitian's campaigns against the Chatti. Occupation of the Agri Decumates, and construction of the great South German *Limes*.
Decebalus of Dacia at war with the Romans.
- 84 Victory of Agricola on the Graupian Hills over the Caledonians under Calgacus.
- 85 Agricola recalled to Rome.
Decebalus destroys the army of Oppius Sabinus, legate in Moesia.
- 86-89 Dacian-Roman war. Domitian's conflicts with the Suevi and Jazyges.
- 88 Revolt and fall of L. Antonius Saturninus, legate on the upper Rhine.
- 89 Peace between Domitian and Decebalus.
- 90 The rhetorician M. Fabius Quintilianus — born between 35 and 42 — dies about 97.
The poets C. Silius Italicus — A.D. 25-101 — P. Papinius Statius — A.D. 45-96 — and M. Valerius Martialis — A.D. 42-102.
- 94 The philosopher Epictetus in Nicopolis.
- 96 Domitian murdered (Sept. 18).
- 96-161 The so-called 'Golden Age' of the empire.
- 96 M. Cocceius Nerva becomes emperor.
- 97 October: Nerva, forced by the mutiny of the praetorian guards, adopts M. Ulpius Trajanus (born Sept. 18, A.D. 53), and appoints him co-regent.
- 98 Death of Nerva, Jan. 27. The accession of the Emperor Trajan.
- 99 Autumn: Arrival of Trajan in Rome.
Extension of the system of alimentation established by Nerva.
- 101 Herodes Atticus born.
- 101-102 Trajan's first Dacian war.
- 104 Trajan's bridge across the Danube.
- 105-107 Trajan's second Dacian war. Death of Decebalus.
- 106 Dacia becomes a Roman province.
- 107-113 The new province of Arabia is established.
- 111-113 Trajan's new Forum constructed in Rome.

- A. D.
- The author Pliny the Younger, born 61-62, in Bithynia as Trajan's legate.
- 113 Trajan's enactments with reference to the Christians. Erection of Trajan's Column in Rome.
- 114 Trajan in the Orient. At war with the Parthians.
- 115 Trajan conquers and annexes Armenia and Mesopotamia. Between 115 and 117 are published Tacitus's *Annals*. The poet D. Junius Juvenalis: A.D. 47-130.
- 116 Trajan conquers Adiabene (Assyria), Seleucia, and Ctesiphon. Revolt in Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia against the Romans.
- 117 Death of the orator Dio Chrysostom of Prusa. Revolt of the Jews in Cyprus, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Lower Egypt, and Cyrene, and their subjection. Trajan in Antioch. His death, Aug. 8, at Selinus in Cilicia. Aug. 11: Publius Aelius Hadrianus (born Jan. 24, A.D. 76) becomes emperor. He gives up conquests east of the Euphrates, and makes peace with the Roxolani.
- 118 Conspiracy and death of Lusius Quietus and his friends. August: Hadrian's return to Rome. Remission of taxes.
- 120 C. Suetonius Tranquillus (A.D. 75-160) writes his biographies of the emperors.
- 121-126 Hadrian's first great journey through the Roman empire.
- 122-124 Hadrian's Wall constructed in Britain.
- 123-124 The fortress Lambaesa constructed in Africa.
- 125 Founding of Adrianople. Hadrian in Greece. L. Apuleius born at Madaura.
- 129 Completion of the Olympieum and establishment of the Panhellenia in Athens.
- 130 Hadrian in Egypt. Death (Oct. 30) and apotheosis of Antinous.
- 131-132 Salvius Julianus codifies the praetorian edicts.
- 131-135 Jewish war in Palestine.
- 136 L. Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus becomes Caesar.
- 138 Jan. 1: Death of the Caesar L. Verus. Feb. 25: Hadrian adopts Titus Aelius Antoninus (born Sept. 19, A.D. 86). Antoninus adopts the younger L. Verus and Marcus Aurelius (born April 26, A.D. 121). July 10: Death of Hadrian.
- 138-222 The Antonines.
- 138 The Emperor Antoninus Pius appoints Marcus Aurelius Caesar.
- 142 A new wall built in Scotland between Clota and Bodotria.
- 146 April 11: L. Septimius Severus born.
- 147 Marcus Aurelius receives the tribunician and proconsular power.
- Circ. 150 The authors Appian of Alexandria, Arrian of Nicomedia, and the geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus flourish.
- 161 March 7: Death of Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius becomes emperor, and makes Lucius Verus his co-regent. Herodes Atticus builds the Odeum in Athens. Outbreak of the war with the Parthians.
- 162 L. Verus in the Orient.
- 163 Conquest of Artaxata by M. Statius Priscus.
- 164 Victories of P. Martius Verus in Armenia, and of Avidius Cassius in Mesopotamia. Capture of Ctesiphon by the Romans. The medical writer Claudius Galenus, born 130, in Rome.
- 165 The Romans in Media; peace made with the Parthians. Lucian of Samosata, born about 120, flourishes.
- 166 Outbreak of the great Marcomannic War. Commodus, born Aug. 31, 161, becomes Caesar, Oct. 12.
- Chosroes, king of the Parthians, in violation of treaties, creates his nephew Parthomasiris king of Armenia.
- Vologases IV. king of the Parthians.

A. D.

- 167 The Marcomanni appear before Aquileia.
The author M. Cornelius Fronto of Cirta: A.D. 90-168.
- 169 Death of L. Verus in January.
Avidius Cassius becomes commander in the Orient.
Galen becomes physician to Commodus.
- 172 The Marcomanni conquered.
The author Aulus Gellius: A.D. 125-175.
- 175 Subjugation of the Jazyges. Revolt and death of Avidius Cassius.
Athenagoras addresses his apology for the Christians to Marcus Aurelius.
- 176 Marcus Aurelius transforms the schools at Athens into a sort of imperial university.
- 177 Second outbreak of the Marcomannic war.
Death of Herodes Atticus.
Commodus becomes co-regent with Marcus Aurelius.
- 178 Destructive earthquake on the west coast of Asia Minor.
Marcus Aurelius with Commodus on the Danube.
The great jurist Gaius: A.D. 110-180.
- 180 March 17: Death of Marcus Aurelius. Commodus becomes emperor.
Peace made with the Marcomanni.
- 188 April 4: Bassianus (afterwards Caracalla), son of Septimius Severus and of Julia Domna, is born.
- 193 Jan. 1: Death of Commodus. Pertinax, born Aug. 1, 126, becomes emperor.
March 28: Death of Pertinax. M. Didius Salvius Julianus emperor.
Successful uprising of L. Septimius Severus in Pannonia.
Death of Didius (June 1). Septimius Severus becomes emperor, and begins war against Pescennius Niger, the rival emperor in the East.
- 194 The armies of Septimius Severus successful at Cyzicus, Nice and Issus. Death of Pescennius Niger.
- 195 Conflicts of Septimius Severus with the Parthians.
- 196 The troops of Septimius Severus capture Byzantium.
June 30: Bassianus Aurelius Antoninus becomes Caesar.
War between Septimius Severus and the British rival emperor Clodius Albinus.
- 197 Defeat and death of Clodius Albinus at Trinurtium.
Outbreak of the great war between Septimius Severus and the Parthians.
- 198 Septimius Severus captures Ctesiphon.
The Parthians lose northern Mesopotamia.
Aurelius Antoninus receives the title of Augustus.
- 199 Tertullian—between 145 and 220—publishes his apology for the Christians.
- 200 Death of Galen.
- 202 Return of Septimius Severus to Rome.
- 203 The arch of Septimius Severus erected in Rome.
The jurists Julius Paullus and Domitius Ulpianus.
- 208 Septimius Severus in Britain.
- 209 His successful campaigns against the tribes of Scotland.
- 210 The line of fortifications between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth strengthened.
- 211 Feb. 4: Death of Septimius Severus.
Aurelius Antoninus ('Caracalla') becomes emperor.
- 212 Caracalla bestows upon all free inhabitants of the Roman empire Roman citizenship.
- 213 War of Caracalla on the Rhine and Neckar against the Alamanni.
- 215 Violence of Caracalla in Alexandria.
- 216 Caracalla's war with the Parthians.
- 217 April 18: Caracalla murdered at Edessa. M. Opallius Macrinus becomes emperor.

Vologases V.
king of the Par-
thians.

- A. D.
- 218 He makes peace with the Parthians, but is deposed in favor of the anti-emperor, M. Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus.
- 219 Elagabalus in Rome.
Beginning of a serious monetary crisis in the Roman empire.
- 222 Death of Elagabalus. Emperor Alexander Severus.
- 228 The jurist Ulpian assassinated by the praetorians.
- 229 The historian Dio Cassius; born 155.
- 230-233 War of the Romans with the Persians.
- 234 Alexander Severus in Mayence. War with the Alamanni.
- 235 Feb. 10: Alexander Severus murdered.
Continued disintegration of the empire.
Julius Verus Maximinus becomes emperor.
- 236-237 Successful campaigns of Maximin against the Alamanni and other German tribes.
- 238 February: Revolt and defeat of the two Gordians in Africa.
March: Balbinus and Pupienus Maximus designated emperors, and Gordian III., Caesar, by the senate.
May: Defeat and assassination of Maximinus at Aquileia.
June: The praetorian guard murders Balbinus and Maximus in Rome.
The Goths cross the lower Danube for the first time.
Gordian III. emperor.
- 242 Successful war of the Emperor Gordian and of Furius Timesitheus with the Persians.
- 244 Death of Gordian. M. Julius Philippus the Arabian becomes emperor.
- 245-247 Successful conflicts of the Emperor Philip with the Carpi on the Pruth.
- 248 Millennial celebration of the founding of Rome.
- 249 Messius Trajanus Decius, born 201, conquers, as anti-emperor, Philip in October at Verona, and becomes emperor.
- 250 Decius persecutes the Christians.
Great war with the Goths on the Danube and in the Balkan peninsula.
- 251 November: Defeat and death of Decius in the battle of Abrittus.
Trebonianus Gallus becomes emperor.
- 254 February: Gallus deposed by M. Aemilianus. The latter in May deposed by the new emperor, P. Licinius Valerianus, born 190.
- 253-254 Irruption of many German tribes into the Balkan peninsula. They penetrate as far south as Thessalonica.
The Persians conquer Armenia and Mesopotamia.
- 254-256 Valerian's son and co-regent, P. Licinius Gallienus, at war on the lower Rhine with the Franks.
The province of Dacia lost to Rome.
The Goths and Heruli ravage the coast of Asia Minor.
- 257 The Christians persecuted by the Emperor Valerian.
- 258 Revolt and fall of the anti-emperor Ingenuus in Pannonia.
- 259 Revolt of Postumus on the Rhine. He becomes anti-emperor in Gaul. The Franks ravage as far south as Tarragona.
- 260 Emperor Valerian at Edessa captured by the Persians, who plunder Antioch, Cilicia, and Cappadocia.
The Alamanni conquer the right bank of the upper Rhine, enter upper Italy, but are defeated by Gallienus at Milan.
- 224-226 Successful uprising of the Persians under Ardashir and the family of the Sassanidae against the Parthians. The Persians again become the leading people in Iran.
The Persians occupy Roman Mesopotamia.
- 241-272 Sapor I., king of the Persians.

A. D.

- 260 Brilliant victories of the Romans under Callistus over the Persians at Pompeiopolis in Cilicia and under Odenathus of Palmyra on the Euphrates.
Gallienus's persecution of the Christians ceases.
- 261 The commander Fulvius Macrianus sets up his sons as anti-emperors against Gallienus in Samosata, but is defeated in Illyricum.
- 262 Odenathus of Palmyra destroys in the east the party of Macrianus, and is appointed by Gallienus 'independent governor for the East.'
- 262-266 Successful campaigns of Odenathus against the Persians.
- 264-265 War of Gallienus with the rival emperors Postumus in Gaul and Regalianus in Pannonia.
Acute monetary crisis.
- 267 Death of Odenathus. His widow Zenobia is regent for her son Vabballat, and annexes Egypt.
Naval expedition of the Goths and Heruli against Greece. Victory of the Athenian Dexippus in Attica over the Heruli.
Gallienus defeats the Heruli on the river Nestus.
Aureolus, anti-emperor in Upper Italy, is besieged by Gallienus in Milan.
- 268 March: Death of Gallienus before Milan.
Revival of the empire.
M. Aurelius Claudius II. (born May 10, 225) becomes emperor.
- 269 Frightful inroad of the Goths and Heruli into the Balkan peninsula and in Greek waters.
Summer: Victory of Claudius at Naissus over the Goths.
Death of Postumus. Victorinus 'emperor' in Gaul.
- 270 March: Death of Claudius at Sirmium. L. Domitius Aurelianus, born Sept. 9, 214, becomes emperor.
Aurelian abandons Dacia.
Probus seizes Alexandria from Zenobia.
- 271 Aurelian drives the Alamanni out of Italy.
The city of Rome furnished with new walls and fortifications.
Esuvius Tetricus 'emperor' in Gaul.
- 272 Aurelian opens the war with Zenobia, defeats her armies at Antioch and Emesa, takes her prisoner, and destroys the kingdom of Palmyra, but surrenders Mesopotamia and Armenia to the Persians.
August: Revolt of the Palmyrenes.
- 273 Aurelian destroys the city of Palmyra.
Aurelian deposes Tetricus, and restores Gaul to the empire.
- 274 Aurelian undertakes a reform in the currency.
- 275 March: Aurelian is murdered at Perinthus.
Sept. 25: The Senate appoints M. Claudius Tacitus emperor. Bahram II. king of the Persians.
- 276 April: Tacitus murdered at Tyana.
July: M. Aurelius Probus (born Aug. 19, 232) becomes emperor.
- 277 Victory of Probus over the Alamanni.
- 278 Successful wars with the Isaurians and Blemyes.
- 279 Settlement of the Bastarnae in Thrace.
- 282 October: Probus murdered at Sirmium.
M. Aurelius Carus becomes emperor, and begins his war with the Persians.
- 283 Carus captures Ctesiphon.
December: Death of Carus. Carinus, son of Carus, emperor.
- 284 Sept. 17: Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, born 245, becomes emperor.
- 285 Victory of Diocletian over Carinus on the river Margus.
Revolt of the Bagaudae in Gaul; they are conquered by the Caesar Maximian.

- A. D.
- 285 The poet M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus of Carthage.
- 286 April 1: Diocletian elevates M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus to the dignity of Augustus.
Maximian successful against the Alamanni and Burgundians.
- 287 Carausius anti-emperor in Britain.
- 293 April 1: Galerius becomes emperor of the East, Constantius Chlorus Caesar in Gaul. Narses king of the Persians.
- 295 Galerius defeats the Sarmatians and the Carpi.
- 296 Constantius Chlorus reconquers Britain.
The baths of Diocletian built in Rome.
- 297 Diocletian subdues Egypt.
Great victory of Diocletian and Galerius over the Persians.
The Roman empire subdivided by Diocletian.
- 298 Victories of Constantius Chlorus over the Alamanni at Langres and at Vindonissa.
- 301 Diocletian's edict *De pretiis*.
- 303 Feb. 23: The Diocletian persecution begins.
Anubius resigns his professorship at Nicomedia.
- 305 The emperors Diocletian and Maximian abdicate.
Constantius Chlorus chief emperor, Galerius emperor of the East, Maximinus Daia Caesar in the East, and Severus Caesar in the West.
- 306 July 25: Constantius Chlorus dies at Eboracum (York).
Galerius becomes chief emperor. Severus becomes Augustus in Milan.
Constantine, son of Chlorus, born 274, becomes Caesar of the West.
Oct. 27: Maxentius, son of Maximian, becomes Augustus in Rome.
- 307 Severus taken prisoner by Maxentius in Ravenna.
April: Constantine marries Maximian's daughter Fausta.
Summer: Death of Severus.
November: Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximian in conference at Carnuntum. Licinius is Augustus in Pannonia and the Alpine territories. Maximinus and Constantine are designated 'sons of the Augusti.'
- 308-310 Successful wars of Constantine with the Franks.
- 308 Maximinus Daia and Constantine receive the title of Augustus.
- 310 Death of Maximian.
- 311 April 30: Edict of Galerius favoring the toleration of the Christians.
May: Death of Galerius at Sardica.
- 312 War between Constantine and Maxentius.
Oct. 27: Victory of Constantine at Saxa Rubra. Death of Maxentius.
- 313 Constantine and Licinius proclaim at Milan religious liberty.
Death of Diocletian at Salona.
War between Maximinus Daia and Licinius. Maximinus, defeated, April 30, at Perinthus, dies in July at Tarsus.
Licinius emperor of the eastern portion of the empire.
Constantine's monetary reforms.
- 314 War between Constantine and Licinius. Constantine victorious, Oct. 8, at Cibalæ, then at Adrianople, secures the Illyrian and Greek territories (except Thrace and Lower Moesia).
- 318 Beginning of the Arian controversy at Alexandria.
- 319 Licinius annoys the Christians under his government.
- 321 Constantine's successful campaign against the Goths.
The Arian controversy divides the eastern church.
- 322 Constantine and Licinius prepare for a decisive conflict.
- 323 July 3: Victory of Constantine over Licinius at Adrianople.
Naval victory of Crispus at Callipolis. Second victory of Constantine, Sept. 18, over Licinius at Chrysopolis.

A. D.

- Rule of the house of the Constantines. Constantine the Great, master of the whole Roman empire.
- 324 He causes the murder of Licinius at Thessalonica.
- 325 June: Constantine opens the Ecumenical Council of the church at Nice.
- 326 Violent death of Crispus, the son, and of Fausta, the wife of Constantine.
- 328 Nov. 4: Constantine lays the corner-stone of the walls of Constantinople.
- Athanasius becomes bishop of Alexandria.
- 329 Constantine and Arius become reconciled.
- 330 May 11: Solemn 'consecration' of Constantinople, the new capital of the empire.
- 335 Constantine apportions the newly organized empire among his three sons and two nephews.
- 336 Death of Arius at Constantinople. The Romans and the Persians at variance.
- 337 May 22: Death of Constantine the Great.
- September: Nearly all the male descendants of Constantius Chlorus are murdered in Constantinople.
- Sept. 9: Constantine II., born 316, emperor of the West. Constans, born 323, emperor of Italy and Illyricum; Constantius II., born 317, emperor of the East.
- 340 April: Constantine II. falls at Aquileia. Constans in supreme control west of Thrace. Wearisome conflicts between Constantius II. and the Persians.
- 341 Constantius II. attacks the Pagan religion.
- 350 The grammarian Donatus at Rome.
- Jan. 18: Death of Constans; Magnentius in Gaul and Vetricio in Illyricum, anti-emperors.
- December: Vetricio overthrown by Constantius II.
- 351 Constantius II. victorious (Sept. 28) over Magnentius at Mursa. He incites the Alamanni to invade Gaul.
- 353 August: Death of Magnentius. Constantius II. supreme lord of the Roman empire; he oppresses all Pagan cults, and makes Christianity the religion of the state.
- 355 Cologne and the left bank of the lower Rhine occupied by the Franks.
- Nov. 6: Julian (born 331) becomes Caesar and governor of Gaul.
- 356 Julian recovers the left bank of the Rhine for the Romans.
- 357 Great victory of Julian at Strasburg over the Alamanni under Chnodomar.
- 359 Constantius II. seeks to reconcile the Arians and the Athanasians.
- 360 Declaration of the army at Paris for Julian as against Constantius II.
- 361 May: Julian opens the war against Constantius II.; in late summer, occupies Sirmium and the passes at Sardica. Constantius II. dies, Nov. 3, at Mopsucrene.
- Julian, sole lord of the Roman empire, enters Constantinople Dec. 11.
- 362 Julian's unsuccessful conflict with Christianity.
- 363 March 5: Julian begins a brilliant campaign against the Persians.
- Great victory at Ctesiphon, May 27.
- June 26: Death of Julian.
- June 27: Flavius Claudius Jovianus (born 311) becomes emperor, and makes a disgraceful peace with the Persians.
- 364 Death of Jovian, Feb. 17.
- 364-378 The Pannonian emperors.
- 364 Feb. 26: Valentinian I. (born 321) becomes emperor, and appoints, March 28, his brother Valens as co-regent for the East.

Sapor II. (309-380)
king of the Persians.

- A. D.
- Valentinian introduces universal religious liberty. Valens favors the Arians at the expense of the Athanasians.
- 365 Revolt of Procopius against Valens. Great inroad of the Alamanni in Gaul.
- 366 May: Fall of Procopius.
June: Victories of Jovinus over the Alamanni at Scarpona and at Châlons-sur-Marne.
- 367-369 Successful campaigns of Valens against the Visigoths.
- 368-370 Brilliant achievements of the elder Theodosius in Britain.
- 371 Death of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari.
- 372-375 Successful campaigns of Theodosius in Africa against the Mauretanian prince Firmus.
- 374 Inroad of the Quadi and Jazyges in Pannonia. Ambrose becomes bishop of Milan.
- 375 Valentinian makes peace with the Alamanni. He rescues Pannonia, but dies, Nov. 17, at Bregetio.
The Emperor Gratian (born 359) in Gaul, and the Emperor Valentinian II. (born 371) in Italy, succeed Valentinian I.
- 376 Death of the elder Theodosius.
Gratian puts an end to religious liberty in the West. The doctrine of the Athanasians recognized alone as 'Catholic.'
The Visigoths admitted into the Roman empire under the protection of Valens.
- 377 The Visigoths rise against the Romans.
- 378 May: Gratian's victory over the Alamanni at Argentaria.
Aug. 9: Defeat and death of the Emperor Valens in battle with the Visigoths at Adrianople.
- 378-395 The Spanish emperors.
- 379 Consulship of the poet D. Magnus Ausonius of Burdigala.
- 379 Jan. 19: Gratian appoints the younger Theodosius (born 346) emperor of the East.
- 379-382 Theodosius makes peace with the Goths.
- 380 Theodosius begins a war of annihilation against Arianism and the heathen cults.
- 383 Gratian gives up the office of pontifex maximus.
Magnus Clemens Maximus anti-emperor in Britain and Gaul. Death of Gratian, Aug. 25.
- 385 The first execution of 'heretics,' by Maximus.
- 387 Maximus conquers Italy.
- 388 Maximus defeated in his war with Theodosius. Valentinian II. emperor of the West.
- 390 The history of Ammianus Marcellinus published.
- 392 May 15: the general Arbogast causes the murder of Valentinian II. at Vienna, and makes Eugenius emperor.
- 393 The last celebration of the Olympic Games.
- 394 Sept. 6: Complete victory of Theodosius over Arbogast and Eugenius on the river Frigidus.
Theodosius, sole master of the Roman empire, prohibits further Olympic festivals.
- 395 Jan. 17: Death of Theodosius. Arcadius emperor of the East, Honorius emperor of the West. Permanent division of the empire into two parts.
- 370 Civil war between the heathen and Christian Visigoths.
- 371-373 Irruption of the Huns in Europe. They destroy the Ostrogothic kingdom of Hermauric.
- The Huns successfully attack the Visigoths.

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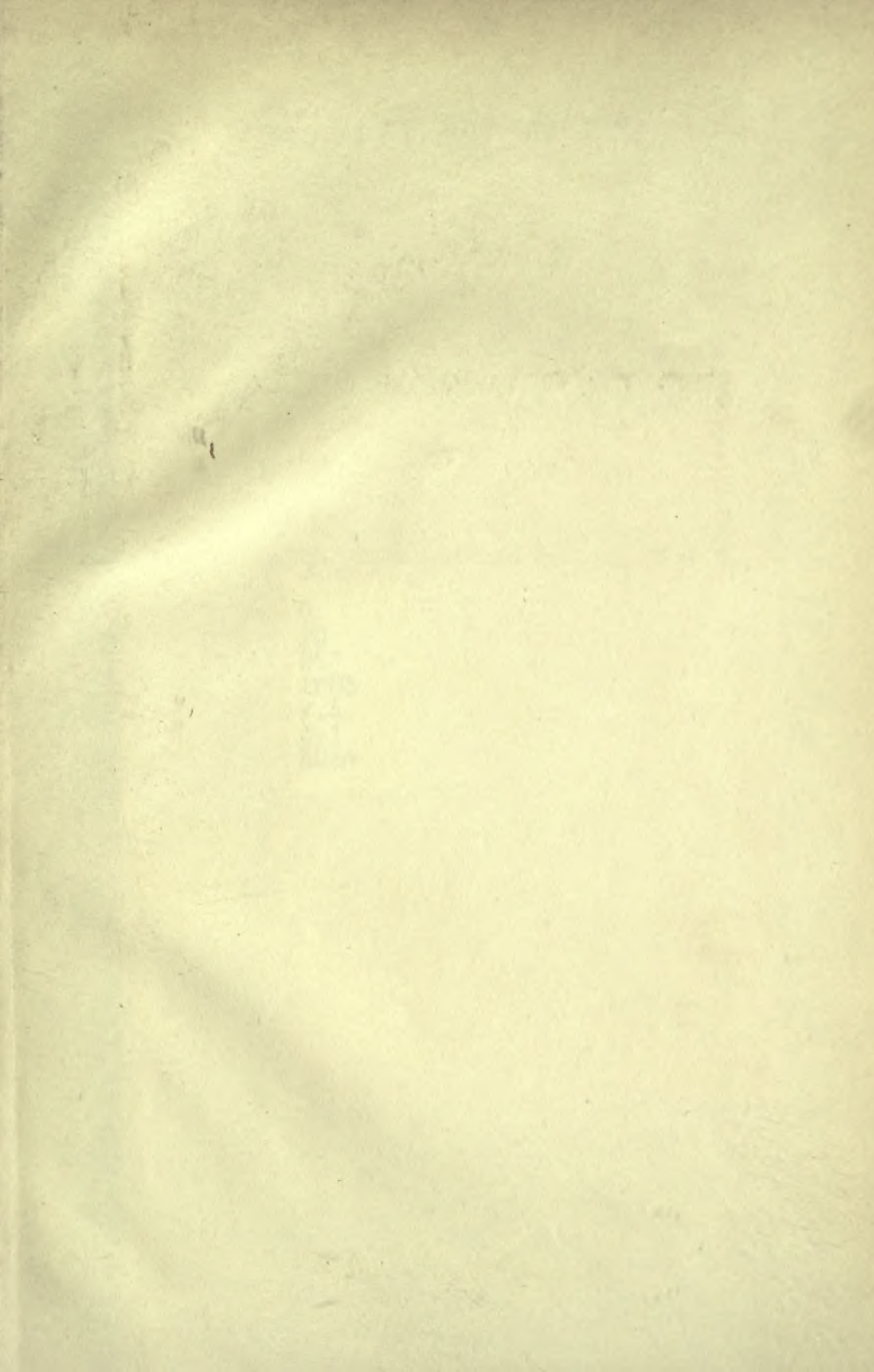
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